

Brezhnev

Leonid Ilyich

Our Course: **Peace**
and **Socialism**



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Our Course: Peace and Socialism

A Collection of Speeches by
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the CPSU Central
Committee, Chairman of
the Presidium of the
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SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN UPON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF AWARDS TO PROMINENT PARTY WORKERS AND SOVIET STATE OFFICIALS

January 5, 1978

Dear comrades and friends,

It is my pleasant duty today to confer high awards of our Motherland upon my colleagues from among the leadership of our Party, and also upon a number of prominent Soviet state officials.

For his great services to the Party and state, and in honour of his seventy-fifth birthday, the Order of the October Revolution has been awarded to one whom we all hold dear—one of the most senior workers of the CPSU leadership, a member of the Politbureau, and a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party—Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov.

The whole of his life has been devoted to the cause of the struggle for the victory of socialism, and for building communism in our Soviet land. His notable contribution to the practical and theoretical work of the Party is well known, and it seems to me that there is no need to speak about this in detail.

Also well known is how much Mikhail Andreyevich has done for the development and strengthening of our Party's international ties, its relations with other fraternal parties, and with all detachments of the world revolutionary and national liberation movement.

We have a high appreciation of Mikhail Andreyevich's fine human qualities, such as his Bolshevik adherence to principle, the exacting standards he applies to himself and others, his exceptional love for work, and his great modesty.

Today, in conferring upon you this well-deserved award, I want to give you my warmest congratulations, Mikhail Andreyevich, and with all my heart wish you good health and new successes in your fruitful work.

The conferment of a high award recognises the outstanding organisational and political work of Candidate-Member of the Polit-

bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Comrade Rashidov.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the republic, headed by you, Sharaf Rashidovich, the Communists and all workers of Uzbekistan have achieved significant successes in carrying out the tasks set by the 25th Party Congress, and in the struggle to obtain big harvests of cotton for the country. And your role in this is appreciated by the award to you, in your sixtieth year, of the Order of Lenin and the second Hammer and Sickle Gold Medal.

Please accept my sincere congratulations, Sharaf Rashidovich, and wishes for all the best, including new successes in the struggle to fulfil the tasks of the republic's five-year plan, and the struggle for quality and efficiency in work.

Today the Order of the October Revolution is also awarded to Candidate-Member of the Central Committee Politbureau and Minister of Culture of the USSR, Pyotr Nilovich Demichev. The award is for his services to the Communist Party and Soviet state, and in recognition of his having attained the age of sixty.

My heartfelt congratulations to you on this award, Pyotr Nilovich, and I wish you good health and continued successful work in the cultural sphere, the importance of which for the communist education of the Soviet people it is impossible to overestimate.

It affords me great pleasure, too, to confer the Order of Lenin and Gold Star Medal upon the chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, Marshal of the Soviet Union, Nikolai Vasilyevich Ogarkov. In his sixtieth year, he has had conferred upon him the honoured title of Hero of the Soviet Union in recognition of his great contribution to the building of the Armed Forces of the country, for his able leadership of these forces, and for personal courage and gallantry displayed in the years of the Great Patriotic War.

I congratulate you, Nikolai Vasilyevich, and wish you new splendid achievements in the responsible post which you have been entrusted with by the Party and the people!

Finally, I have the award of the Order of the October Revolution to make to the Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR, General of the Army N. A. Shchelokov, and the military Badge of Honour of the Chief Marshal of the Air Force to award to the Minister of Civil Aviation of the USSR, B. P. Bugaev.

My sincere congratulations to you, Nikolai Anisimovich and Boris Pavlovich! These awards recognise the great work you are doing in your responsible posts. At the same time we look forward to new, still more notable successes in your work which is so important for the Motherland, for our cause of building communism.

I am sure, dear comrades, that you will justify these expectations.

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE
PRESENTATION OF THE ORDER OF LENIN
AND THE HAMMER AND SICKLE GOLD
MEDAL OF HERO OF SOCIALIST LABOUR TO
F. D. KULAKOV, MEMBER OF THE POLITICAL
BUREAU AND SECRETARY OF THE CPSU
CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

February 9, 1978

Dear Fyodor Davydovich,

All of us, your friends and fellow workers, have assembled today with the feeling of joy in order to congratulate you once more on your 60th birthday, and to present you with one of our country's high awards.

You, Fyodor Davydovich, are almost a coeval of the Great October Revolution. And it can be said with confidence that your whole career and activities are connected with the great effort of our Leninist Party to implement the immortal ideas of the October Revolution and the ideas of communism.

You became an agronomist at the age of 20, and since then you have been devoting your efforts primarily to that important sector of our national economy—agriculture. You know the real value of bread, and you know how much labour is involved in ensuring stable harvests and raising the productivity of livestock farming. You also know how complicated and responsible are the tasks which the Soviet countryside has to solve at present, and how much it will have to do in the future.

As a Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, you are making a fine contribution to the concerted, collective work of the leading bodies of the Party and to the practice of communist construction.

Difficulties cannot be avoided in any major undertaking. This also applies to the building of a new society which demands the constant creative efforts and energies of all those involved, and most particularly, of the leaders. At the same time, one derives

great happiness in making a contribution to the birth of the communist morrow.

Permit me to express my confidence, dear Fyodor Davydovich, that you will worthily continue to live up to the trust of the Party, and selflessly work for the good of the Soviet people. I wish you the best of health, a lot of energy, and fresh success in creative effort.

I congratulate you wholeheartedly on being awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour.

Permit me to present to you the Order of Lenin and the Sickle and Hammer Gold Medal.

SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN ON RECEIVING THE ORDER OF VICTORY

February 20, 1978

Dear comrades,
Friends,

It is easy to understand what I feel now. For me who fought through the entire war from its very beginning to its very end and who in the post-war years was constantly connected with the life of our Armed Forces, the Order of Victory is a very honorable and deeply moving award. I am sincerely grateful for it to our Party, its Central Committee and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

In accepting this award I think, above all, of my combat friends, soldiers, sailors, officers, generals. I recall all the people with whom side by side I went through the war, with whom we achieved victory.

Victory was the greatest achievement of our people. The whole country, the young and the old, rejoiced on May 9, 1945. And immediately afterwards our Party and the Soviet Government put on the agenda the task of securing a lasting peaceful settlement that would write finis to the war.

It took, however, enormous efforts to consolidate the victory that was won at untold cost. It took three decades for the inviolability of the post-war frontiers to be recognised by Europe, as well as by the United States and Canada. And this is, essentially, what is meant by consolidating victory's results.

While they were defending their country and fighting fascism, our soldiers and our Soviet people thought of peace. We fought for putting an end once and for all to military conflagrations. We fought to ensure that our mothers did not weep for their sons. We fought to uphold the freedom of our people and the peoples of other countries, to uphold their right to life, to peaceful labour, to happiness.

Our Party and our people were, are and will always be dedicated to the cause of peace. Safeguarding peace means to us

safeguarding socialism, safeguarding the radiant future of the whole of mankind.

I should like to mention here one particular and very important aspect of our peace efforts—the consolidation of the defence capability of the Soviet Union.

I am proud, comrades, that I am being given this extremely high award during the 60th anniversary celebrations of our Soviet Army, our Red Army, born in the flames of the October Revolution. The Party is doing everything to ensure that the defence of our country is at the proper level.

But, in consolidating our Armed Forces, we do not in any way go beyond the actual requirements of our security and the security of our socialist friends. We threaten no one and impose our will upon no one.

If detente continues, if other states are ready for disarmament, we shall not lag behind. We search steadily, consistently and ever more energetically with every year for ways to settle this problem, including the most radical way, general and complete disarmament.

Dear comrades, friends, in accepting this award I should like to assure you and through you all the Communists and all the Soviet people that the great ideas of Lenin, the ideas of communism will continue to be my lodestar as they have been all my conscious life. As any member of our Party I have no higher interest than the good of the people, the good of our country.

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE DINNER IN
HONOUR OF HAFIZ AL-ASSAD, GENERAL
SECRETARY OF THE ARAB SOCIALIST
RENAISSANCE PARTY AND PRESIDENT OF
THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC**

February 21, 1978

Dear Comrade Hafiz al-Assad,
Esteemed Syrian friends,
Comrades,

We are happy to welcome Hafiz al-Assad, General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and President of the Syrian Arab Republic, and the Syrian leaders who arrived with him, in Moscow again.

Comrade President, you are known in this country as a strong supporter of developing friendly relations with the Soviet Union. We also completely support the further strengthening of our friendship. Since both sides want this, there is every reason to hope that the coming years will be marked by the further strengthening of Soviet-Syrian cooperation.

Our countries are different, each has its own eventful history, traditions and customs, but there is also a great deal that unites us, and does so reliably.

The Soviet and Syrian people equally treasure the great cause of the freedom and independence of peoples. Both our countries come out for lasting peace, for extinguishing the centres of war and imperialist aggression and for putting an end to all the vestiges of colonialism.

Is it possible to forget the many achievements that we have already made in peaceful construction and in developing joint economic action? I shall recall only the Euphrates hydroelectric power complex, which is rightly regarded as the beacon of Soviet-Syrian economic cooperation.

Soviet people hold dear and understand the aspirations of the Syrian working people. We know very well the aims of development

along the road of progress set out by the leadership of friendly Syria and by the Progressive National Front, which unites the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, the Syrian Communist Party and all the democratic anti-imperialist forces of the country. And we wish the friendly people of the Syrian Arab Republic new successes along this road.

Dear comrades,

We all see very well that the more firmly the emerging states stand on their own feet, the more persistent are the attempts of the imperialists to impede their development, to turn them back and to restore the influence they have lost there.

The imperialists are seeking to split the national liberation movement and to find conciliators and capitulators in its ranks, promising them economic and financial aid. The present turn of events in the Middle East is added confirmation of this.

In effect, the Arab countries of the Middle East are now, as it were, at a fork in the road. Will the aggressor triumph or will the just cause of freedom, peace and independence of the peoples take the upper hand? This depends on their determination and their solidarity.

There is no need to prove that our sympathies and our support are on the side of the Arab peoples.

Everybody knows the views which we consistently hold on the question of a Middle East settlement. We hold that a settlement must include:

- The withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967;
- Implementation of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and first of all the right to self-determination, including the creation of their own state;
- The safeguarding of the independent existence of all states of the area.

It is now clear to all that by embarking on the road of separate deals with Israel, the Egyptian leadership began unilaterally to surrender one joint Arab position after another. As a result, serious damage has already been inflicted on the struggle of the Arabs to eliminate the vestiges of the Israeli aggression, and the cause of a Middle East settlement has been pushed back.

The question prompts itself, is it not time to stop the unprincipled political manoeuvres in the Middle East, manoeuvres which threaten the interests of the Arabs, and return the cause of a settlement to the channel of the Geneva Conference?

This, without doubt, would accord with the fundamental interests of the peoples of the Middle East and make a big contribution to the cause of improving the international climate.

By again outlining the already known position of the Soviet Union, I would like to emphasise once again that we pay tribute to Syria's firm and, at the same time, realistic and constructive

policy in the struggle for the attainment of a really all-embracing and just Middle East settlement.

The freedom-loving peoples also have high regard for Syria's active participation in the efforts of the progressive Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organisation which, at recent conferences in Tripoli and Algiers, laid the groundwork for strengthening the front of resistance to the policy of surrender and selling out Arab interests.

Comrade President,

I believe that the Soviet-Syrian talks that began today already provide reason to believe that we have mutual understanding on practically all questions under discussion. And this is yet another guarantee that our friendship and all-round cooperation will successfully develop further.

I propose a toast to the health of Comrade Hafiz al-Assad, General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, Chairman of the Progressive National Front of Syria and President of the Syrian Arab Republic.

To the progress and prosperity of the Syrian people!

To the success of the just cause of the Arab peoples and to lasting peace in the Middle East!

To friendship and fruitful cooperation between our countries!

SPEECH AT THE RECEPTION ON THE OCCASION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES

February 23, 1978

Dear comrades,

The entire Soviet people and progressive mankind are widely celebrating today the glorious 60th anniversary of the Soviet Army which has been created under the direction of our leader Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

The celebration meeting we had yesterday was a striking display of the love and profound respect our people have for their army.

I am bound to mention that both the celebration meeting and this reception have been graced by the presence of our friends from socialist lands: the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

This is fresh evidence of the brotherhood and close cooperation of our countries and the combat friendship of their armed forces. And so, Comrade Ustinov was right in stressing the importance of this fact in his speeches yesterday and today.

Let me congratulate on this impressive anniversary the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and all those who are contributing by their labour effort towards building up our army's strength and the basis of its fighting capacity.

I want to convey the warmest greetings and congratulations today to the veterans who have come through the Civil War and the Patriotic War, those who have never spared their lives in the name of this country's freedom and independence.

I propose a toast to the soldiers, officers and generals, to the Soviet Army, Navy and Air Force. I am perfectly sure that they

will continue to fulfil with honour their sacred duty to their homeland.

On your behalf, comrades, I ask our friends from the sister socialist nations to transmit our warmest sentiments, our love and respect to their peoples and parties, to the Central Committees and First Secretaries of their Central Committees. I feel sure you will join me in asking them to do so.

To the further success of all those who have served or are serving in our Armed Forces, who are in uniform today.

SPEECHES IN THE KREMLIN AT A SESSION OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET

February 24, 1978

On the Results of the Consideration of Suggestions and Comments Made by Deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Seventh Special Session During Discussion of the Draft of the Constitution of the USSR

Does anyone wish to take the floor?

No one does.

Let me say a few words then.

From the memorandum submitted and from A. N. Kosygin's report it is evident what extensive and useful work is being planned to implement the deputies' proposals. This is a matter of fundamental significance. After all, we deal with proposals expressing in effect the interests of millions of Soviet people, their great concern for the successful development of our society. This places especial responsibility on all bodies that are to carry the proposals into life.

The discussion of the report by the Council of Ministers of the USSR at the Presidium sitting is a logical continuation of the efforts aimed at developing and perfecting the control functions of the supreme organ of power, as is required by the provisions of the new Constitution.

I do not doubt that this trend in the activities of the Supreme Soviet, which incidentally is being further extended, is very useful for the ministries and departments themselves, for the government as a whole. That is understandable. For every time—whether at a session of the Supreme Soviet, a sitting of the Presidium or of a standing commission—many deputies are involved in preparing a question. They are specialists in their fields, leading Party func-

tionaries and executives, people with a wide-ranging knowledge of life. Their advice and their suggestions are very important and valuable. They see management from the inside, so to speak, from the production collectives.

There is yet another important aspect to the question. It lies in the fact that the development of the control functions of the Soviets is one of the chief means of advancing our representative system and deepening democracy in our socialist society.

I think that the positive experience we have already gained and the nature of the interrelationship between bodies of power and of management should be reflected and recorded also in new laws which we will shortly be considering. I am referring, above all, to the Law on the Council of Ministers and the Regulations of the Supreme Soviet.

Such are briefly the considerations I wished to voice on this question.

On the Experience of Work with Electors' Mandates by the Soviets of People's Deputies in Byelorussia

The documents submitted as well as the speeches made by Comrade Polyakov and other comrades have given a sufficiently detailed account of the Byelorussian Soviets' experience of work with electors' mandates.

I would like to dwell on a few points.

The matter of the electors' mandates has not been raised accidentally. The mandates are a vivid manifestation of our democracy, democracy not in words, but in deeds, democracy which is real and effective. These mandates express the working people's concern for the affairs of their state, and social interests. We have no right to lose sight of these manifestations of public initiative.

It is also important to take into account that well-organised work with mandates serves an educational purpose of great importance. The discussion of proposals submitted, the not always easy process of deciding which mandates should be carried out—all this helps to develop the Soviet people's ability to think in a statesmanlike way. It is important, naturally, to raise the matter correctly. The interesting point about Byelorussia's experience is that proper attention and scope was given there to the work connected with the mandates.

Any initiative, even a good one, may come to nothing if it does not find support and is not reinforced by practical steps. Of course, translating the electors' mandates into life is not a simple matter. It frequently involves a great deal of trouble. We often have to correct our plans in keeping with the electors' mandates. Nevertheless, it is absolutely necessary to do this work, and it must be done more extensively and better.

And in conclusion a few words about the legislative act on the procedure of considering and carrying out the mandates of the electors. It is common knowledge that the elaboration of such a document is envisaged in our plan of legislative work. I believe that its adoption will make it possible to work more systematically with mandates, and to ensure the participation in this work of all the state bodies and public organisations.

At the same time, it should be borne in mind that an All-Union law will hardly reflect the whole range of the established practice. Obviously, the basic principles of work with mandates must be developed and concretised in the legislation of the republic.

Concluding, comrades, I would like to express my confidence that the Soviets would benefit enormously from the experience of Byelorussia. We shall continue to show the whole country the best examples of the work done by Soviets, and we shall continue to promote new trends which are becoming widely established in running the affairs of the state.

On the Results of the Visit to the United States of the Delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Comrades, we are winding up discussion of the report by the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, which visited the United States on the invitation of the US Congress. Allow me to make a few comments.

The trips of delegations from our country's supreme body of power abroad, the development of contacts with parliamentarians, with statesmen of other countries take up an important place in the foreign-policy activities of the Soviet Union. We establish such contacts also with the US Congress, which is, undoubtedly, of considerable significance.

As one can see from the delegation's report, Comrade Ponomaryov and our other comrades have carried out useful work in the United States.

The foundation of our country's relations with the US has been laid, as is known, by a whole series of agreements and accords, reached in the past several years as a result of summit level negotiations. Possibilities have been created for deepening and expanding USSR-USA cooperation. But today, unfortunately, one has to state that the road to such cooperation is still obstructed by all kinds of hindrances. They are created by forces that are interested neither in good-neighbourly USSR-US relations, nor in the relaxation of international tension in general.

How is this expressed concretely?

Let us take, for instance, the strategic arms limitation talks. Notable progress was reached in them. At the same time it is clear

that there are some in the US who would like to impede these negotiations, to prevent their successful conclusion.

We have outlined our position repeatedly and in different forms both to the White House, and to the American Congress. It is clear, consistent and definitive. I shall not repeat what I said here. I will just stress once again that we stand for the speediest conclusion of the talks on the principles of equal security. Following the signing of a new strategic arms limitation agreement, it will be possible to proceed to the next stage. This would be a real breakthrough on the road towards a military detente. We would like to hope that responsible figures in the US realise how much is at stake.

Or still another negative factor. I mean the plans for the manufacture of the neutron weapon, and its deployment in Europe. The realisation of such plans, so attractive to war-minded circles in the USA, would substantially complicate the situation. The Soviet proposal on the reciprocal renunciation of the manufacture of neutron weapons is well known. There is only one alternative to rejecting the manufacture of this weapon—a new qualitative leap in the lethal arms race. It is impossible not to see this.

No small element in Soviet-American relations is our economic, scientific and technical cooperation. However, here too, artificially created difficulties are far from being overcome. They are mainly connected with the well-known decisions of the American Congress, which we justly regard as an attempt to interfere in our affairs.

In other words, comrades, at present a period has come in Soviet-American relations, that requires new efforts to impart dynamism to these relations and a more constructive character. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Congress of the USA could, of course, play their respective roles in this matter.

On our instructions the delegation of the Supreme Soviet has invited a delegation of the US Congress to come to the USSR on a return visit. This is a good thing. We have already received such delegations and realise their usefulness.

In conclusion, comrades, I would like to stress once again that we regard Soviet-American relations as an important element in the general international policy of the Soviet state, a policy aimed at strengthening peace, ending the arms race, at developing equal and reciprocally profitable cooperation among states.

I believe I am voicing the general view when I say that the activity of the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the United States should be approved and that work to develop contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of the United States should be continued in very many ways.

SINCERE GRATITUDE

I received a large number of letters and telegrams from Party organisations, Communists, from Soviet people and from abroad warmly congratulating me on my being awarded the Order of Victory. Unable to reply to all these letters and telegrams individually, I would like, through the newspaper *Pravda*, to sincerely thank all those who have sent their good wishes.

The ideas expressed in these letters have made me feel proud of the Soviet people. Recalling the victorious month of May, 1945, the correspondents write enthusiastically about the Party's successful efforts to increase the nation's defence, and to establish an inviolable peace on our planet. They voice a citizen's true concern for the continued strengthening of the socialist Fatherland.

Messages from veterans of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War and congratulations from comrades-in-arms with whom I spent the long and inexpressibly hard war years move me greatly.

I want to express my most heartfelt gratitude to the leaders of the fraternal socialist states, Communist and Workers' parties, and of the newly liberated countries who congratulated me so warmly on this great event in my life.

I am also very grateful to foreign political, civic and community leaders and organisations and to the general public for their high evaluation of my contribution to the improvement of the international climate and to the development of detente. Credit for this should go to the just and equitable policy of our Party and the Soviet state, a policy which has been and always will be carried out in the interests of peace and socialism.

I accept this enthusiastic approval of the Party's varied activities and the good wishes addressed to me for success in my work with a sense of great responsibility and as a kind of mandate for the future. I want to say once again that I shall exert every effort to bring about the triumph of our great communist ideals and to ensure world peace.

L. BREZHNEV

March 4, 1978

SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN UPON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF AWARDS TO MILITARY LEADERS AND WORKERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND SOVIET STATE

March 14, 1978

Dear comrades,

Very recently our country held a big nationwide celebration to mark the sixtieth birthday of the valiant Armed Forces of the USSR. Our forces are covered with the glory of world-historic victories. The high level of political consciousness and military preparedness of the personnel, their most advanced weapons, and the leadership of experienced officers make them a reliable bulwark for ensuring the security of the Soviet people, and a powerful factor for the maintenance of peace between peoples.

The Motherland knows and values highly those who made a great contribution to the unforgettable victories of past years, and those who are at the present time making a big contribution to strengthening the country's defence capability.

It is natural, therefore, that, in connection with the sixtieth anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, acting on the suggestion of the Central Committee of the CPSU, has honoured with high state awards a number of our comrades among the military leadership. This is a well-deserved tribute to their military prowess, able leadership of the forces, and courage and heroism displayed in the years of the war, and to their services in ensuring the reliable defence of the Soviet land in today's conditions.

It gives me great pleasure, in performing this duty entrusted to me by the Central Committee of the Party and by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to confer today these high awards and distinctions upon renowned and highly esteemed military leaders.

Among them are the Deputy Minister of Defence of the USSR, Hero of the Soviet Union, Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade K. S. Moskalenko, who is awarded the Order of Lenin and a second Gold Star Medal, and the head of the Political Department Headquarters of the Soviet Army and Navy, General of the Army, Comrade A. A. Epishev, who has had conferred upon him the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

The Order of Lenin recognises the services of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the USSR, General of the Army, Comrade I. G. Pavlovsky, of Chief Marshal of the Air Force, Comrade P. S. Kutakhov, of Admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union, Comrade S. G. Gorshkov, of Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade P. F. Batitsky, and of the First Deputy Minister of Defence of the USSR, Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Armed Forces of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade V. G. Kulikov.

The Order of Lenin is awarded also to Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade V. I. Chuikov, a veteran of battles of the Great Patriotic War.

The Order of Lenin and Gold Star and Hammer and Sickle Medals are awarded, too, to a number of other comrades.

The First Deputy Minister of Defence of the USSR, Comrade S. L. Sokolov, has had conferred upon him the rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union, and today receives a Marshal's star.

May I warmly congratulate all those who are today receiving these high and well-deserved awards of the Motherland, signifying the acknowledgement of outstanding services to the Soviet people. I wish all of you, dear comrades, good health and new signal successes. I am sure that in the future, too, you will worthily serve the defence of our socialist Motherland, and the cause of strengthening peace generally.

I would like also to warmly congratulate the chairman of the CPSU's Central Auditing Commission, Comrade G. F. Sizov, and the Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade V. N. Novikov, who are awarded orders for their services to the Communist Party and Soviet state, and in connection with the jubilee occasions in their life. We wish you new successes, comrades, in your responsible tasks.

SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN UPON THE OCCASION OF THE AWARD OF THE ORDER OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION TO THE NEWSPAPER 'IZVESTIA'

March 15, 1978

Comrades,

Before performing the pleasant duty of awarding the Order of the October Revolution to the newspaper *Izvestia*, I should like to say a few words.

Izvestia has a glorious record. From the moment of the Great October victory, the newspaper has faithfully served the socialist revolution, the cause of Soviet power.

On its pages it published the Leninist decrees on peace and on land. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was a constant contributor to, and attentive reader of, the paper. From those historic days stemmed the *Izvestia* tradition of most direct participation in the communist education of the working people and in mobilising them for carrying out the tasks of building the Soviet state and its economy and culture.

The authority of *Izvestia*, as of the entire Soviet press, is connected above all with its profound democratism. Our press is a daily tribune for all the people, accessible to every Soviet citizen. Here are openly reported our joys and sorrows, successes and shortcomings, all that we live by, what we aspire to, and what we are working to accomplish. It is natural, therefore, that many important decisions of the Party and of state bodies should have been adopted and are adopted in connection with what is published in our press.

And there is yet another consideration of principle. The Soviet press is unswervingly faithful to the ideas of internationalism, the ideas of peace and international cooperation. In whatever part of the world a people's freedom is threatened, wherever there is a clash between the forces of reaction and the forces of progress, and wherever the rights of man are infringed, it has always raised and continues to raise its voice in defence of justice. And it is an authoritative voice, listened to very attentively in the world.

I warmly congratulate the *Izvestia* collective, the holder of orders, on their well-deserved award. I wish *Izvestia* and our entire journalistic force further successes in their work, in their prompt and efficient dissemination of truthful information, in their Bolshevik ardour, and in their resoluteness and stand of principle in their educational reporting of the internal and external policy of our country.

SPEECH AT A MEETING WITH THE LEADERS OF THE OMSK REGION

March 30, 1978

May I begin by conveying to you, and through you to the working people of the region, heartfelt greetings from the members of the Political Bureau of our Party's Central Committee and by wishing you success in the important work which is being done in the region to carry out the tasks set by the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

With its well-developed engineering, oil processing and petrochemical industries and its highly productive agriculture, the Omsk region has always been regarded as a leading region in the West Siberian economic zone.

It was particularly gratifying to hear from Comrade Manyakin that the Omsk petrochemical complex, one of the biggest in Siberia, is being built at a high pace. The Omsk plastics and tyre plants are being expanded and the production of spares for tractors and farm machinery is increasing. You know very well, comrades, how much our economy needs the output of your petrochemical and manufacturing industries. I hope that in the third year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period you will increase output and that its quality will be high. This calls, of course, for hard work.

I would like to note as a positive fact in the activities of the leadership of the Omsk region that the region has fulfilled and overfulfilled state assignments for the production and purchase of a number of agricultural products.

The task now is to carry out the spring field work successfully, and to finish preparing tractors, tilling and sowing machines for use. It is clear to each one of us that to prepare well for sowing means in a large measure to ensure good harvests.

Much attention is being paid in the region to improving the everyday amenities of the working people. This is an important matter. If a man lives well he also works well.

However, while taking due note of your successes, the Central Committee of the Party calls the attention of the Party organisations

first of all to the unresolved problems, to the removal of shortcomings. There are bound to be such problems in the complex, dynamically developing economy of our country. There are problems in your region as well.

We spoke about all this in a principled, Party way at the December Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. Here I want to stress especially that one of the factors in accelerating economic development is good organisation, order and discipline in every sector of management of the economy. For the national economy is a single organism. Hence the great importance of fulfilling plan assignments everywhere, of strictly observing planning procedures, and organising the supervision of this.

I would like to touch upon one more matter of no little significance: an important source of growth of labour productivity is rapidly bringing production capacities up to rated output, both those capacities commissioned in the past few years and those being brought into operation in the third year of the five-year period.

In your region, too, industrial output is to be increased by 37 per cent primarily through reconstructing shops and making maximum use of existing capacities.

A truly popular movement of socialist emulation for fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 1978 plan, for raising the efficiency of production and the quality of output, has developed all over the country. Socialist emulation enables every work collective and every individual worker to show their capabilities in accomplishing challenging but quite feasible tasks.

Allow me to wish you once again great successes and to express confidence that the working people of the region will work well to make 1978 a year of shock labour.

SPEECH AT A MEETING WITH THE LEADING PARTY FUNCTIONARIES AND ECONOMIC EXECUTIVES OF THE NOVOSIBIRSK REGION

March 31, 1978

I would like to use the opportunity provided by this talk to state some considerations regarding the spring field work. In the conditions of Siberia, and of other regions in our country, timely and high-quality sowing is a guarantee that a big harvest will be obtained in the third year of the five-year plan period. It is therefore necessary, without wasting time, without wasting a single day, to direct the attention of the region's Party activists and economic executives, the local Soviets of People's Deputies and agricultural organisations, and the collective and state farms towards efficiently carrying out the entire range of farm operations.

To what should special attention be paid today? To thoroughly checking the seed fund, properly repairing the machine and tractor fleet, supplying farms with fuel and lubricants and properly staffing them with farm machinery operators.

Party, trade union and Young Communist League organisations should help every crew and team to take stock of its possibilities and internal reserves and on the basis of these to decide on their socialist pledges in the battle for the new harvest. Care must be taken to organise public catering and community and medical services during the spring field work.

As everyone knows, growing and harvesting a good crop is only half the job. Farm produce must be delivered to the consumer without losses. Therefore already now measures must be taken which will ensure in the autumn the transportation, processing and storage of every kilogram of grain, vegetables and fruit.

Everything I have said here applies, of course, not just to the Novosibirsk region. All the Party bodies in our country must address themselves energetically and without delay to questions pertaining to sowing, harvesting and the rational utilisation of everything that our collective and state farms produce.

I am sure that the leadership of the Novosibirsk region, and that of your neighbour, the Altai Territory, will make every effort to increase the production of agricultural crops, above all, cereals. You know how we value your varieties of durum wheat.

All of us know well, of course, that the city of Novosibirsk and its region are a major industrial area in the West Siberian economic zone, where enterprises of nationwide importance are situated. Coupled with this is the favourable influence of science in the person of the scientists of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences on industrial and overall economic development in the entire zone and even beyond it. A great deal is being done and I was told about this today by the First Secretary of the Regional Committee of the CPSU, our esteemed Fyodor Stepanovich Goryachev.

But I would still like to stress in this talk of ours that we expect even more from the practical application of science, from the solution of fuel and energy problems, from geological prospecting, petrochemistry, engineering and other fields. It is necessary to go on ensuring that scientists actively help to fuse science with practice and thereby contribute to the growth of our country's productive forces. I think that Comrade Marchuk, President of the Siberian Branch, will agree with this and give thought, as energetically as he always does, to making the implementation of this task still more effective.

Permit me, comrades, to convey to you greetings from the members of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and wish you success in implementing the tasks facing the region.

SPEECH AT A MEETING WITH SERVICEMEN IN NOVOSIBIRSK *

March 31, 1978

We have just attended an exercise of a Rocket Forces regiment. You have demonstrated high combat readiness, good unit teamwork and perfect mastery of the most modern and powerful weapons in your charge.

The Soviet Army is equipped with new types of combat materiel and is supplied with everything it needs. It has splendid personnel. All this enables us to ensure the reliable and effective defence of our homeland. You stand on guard of the peaceful labour of Soviet people. The Soviet Union has never armed itself for armament's sake; it has never been, and will never be, the instigator of an arms race. Our successes in the military sphere are aimed at defending and guarding ourselves and our socialist friends against possible aggression, wherever it may come from.

Soviet army men are educated in a spirit of vigilance, internationalism and loyalty to the combat traditions of the older generations. You fittingly uphold the glorious cause of your fathers, who defended the Soviet homeland in the years of the Great Patriotic War. To serve and defend the homeland is a high honour for every Soviet citizen, for every serviceman.

The Party and the people take pride in the Soviet Armed Forces. May I express confidence that you will continue to be in constant combat readiness, guaranteeing an instant rebuff to any aggressor, and that you will continue to fulfil with honour your sacred duty to the people, to our great homeland.

Comrade Brezhnev wished the servicemen success in their combat training and political education.

* A summary

**SPEECH AT A MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF
THE BUREAU OF THE KRASNOYARSK
TERRITORIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU**

April 1, 1978

The decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU provide for continuing, in the current five-year period, the build-up of the economic potential of the eastern regions of our country and increasing their importance in our country's industrial production. In this way the Party's Central Committee is implementing the policy of improving the distribution of productive forces and making rational use of manpower, energy, fuel and raw material resources.

An important role in accomplishing this task is being played by your Krasnoyarsk Territory, where, as is well known, the Sayansky territorial-production complex is being established. A good energy basis for this complex is provided by the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydropower station, whose cheap electricity will make it possible to build and put into operation, before the end of the five-year period, a complex of electrical engineering plants in Minusinsk and to commission the first electrolysis shops of the Sayansky aluminium refinery.

Manufacturing enterprises are being built as close as possible to your rich ore and other raw material deposits, and this is already producing a considerable economic effect.

To be sure, development of the productive forces of the territory demands faster growth of the building industry and of transport.

I want to emphasise that the comprehensive character of the industrialisation of the Krasnoyarsk Territory is of great importance for the entire national economy. The complexity of the tasks is understandable. But since I have come here let us have a frank talk, let us say everything, what is good and what is bad. While not wishing to cast gloom over our meeting, I would nevertheless like to note that a number of planned projects are being built in the Krasnoyarsk Territory at an extremely slow pace. Their commissioning on schedule is not being ensured. This is the case with the Achinsk oil refinery, the Sorsk molybdenum combine, the Abakan

railway car building plant, the Krasnoyarsk trailer plant, the harvester combine plant. In short, you know very well where you are not fulfilling the plan. This cannot be tolerated, comrades. The responsibility for this rests both on Union ministries and on the leadership of the territory.

I would like to stress that the intensive opening up of the natural resources and the comprehensive development of the economy of Eastern Siberia require of the Party, government and economic bodies a constant search for internal resources and their utilisation. An important part is to be played in this by socialist emulation, which has spread beyond the geographical boundaries of the territory, embracing in its orbit enterprises some of which are situated thousands of kilometres away from Krasnoyarsk.

I have been told about the cooperation of enterprises and organisations of Leningrad with the builders of the Sayano-Shushenskaya hydropower station. The purpose of this collaboration has been approved by the Central Committee, because it reduces the time spent on building hydropower stations. The pledges taken in Leningrad and Krasnoyarsk envisage a high quality of work in building this station. Experience shows that precisely this approach by cooperating enterprises towards tackling major national economic tasks produces the best results. In cooperation with the Leningraders the builders of the station have greatly increased the pace and improved the quality of construction work. I would like to advise you, comrades, to propagate this experience more widely, to extend it to other production collectives.

More attention should be paid to improving capital construction. You still have considerable reserves in this sphere. In this connection I would like to remind you once again of the decisions of the December Plenary Meeting of the CC, which envisage concentration of forces and means on the most important nearly-complete projects, on raising the level of mechanisation and automation in construction, on improving the supply of raw and other materials to construction projects, and on constant enhancing the level of ideological and political education work among people.

Permit me to express confidence that the working people of the Krasnoyarsk Territory will fulfil the socialist pledges taken for the third year of the five-year period. You have every possibility of doing this.

I am very pleased with my visit to you, with the enterprises I have seen, with the people's frame of mind and with my meetings with workers.

I would like to convey to you greetings and wishes for success in your work from the members of the CPSU Central Committee's Political Bureau. We are all confident that your territory, one of the most highly developed and promising, in the economic respect, regions of Siberia, will carry out with distinction the tasks assigned to it.

SPEECH AT A MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF THE BUREAU OF THE IRKUTSK REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU

April 2, 1978

Comrades,

I would like to have a frank talk with you about some problems of the development of your region. It is a rapidly developing region in Eastern Siberia which possesses unique hydropower resources. You have a whole cascade of hydropower stations on the Angara river, including the very big ones at Bratsk and Ust-Ilimsk. One of them, the Bratsk station, I visited before. It greatly impressed me.

The Irkutsk region produces about five per cent of all the electricity generated in the country as a whole. I am not saying this without a reason: you have a good power base for the comprehensive development of such energy-consuming processes as the production of non-ferrous metals, pulp and paper, and chemicals.

For precisely this reason the decisions of the 25th Party Congress provide for completing, in the main, the formation of the Bratsk and Ust-Ilimsk industrial complexes. The Ust-Ilimsk complex is to specialise in wood working and processing so as to improve our country's supplies of paper, cardboard and other products of wood processing. You know how greatly our country needs them.

I repeat, there is everything necessary for the realisation of this programme—timber, water and plenty of energy resources.

The regional Party organisation is doing a great deal in this field. That is good, but still more remains to be done.

Regrettably, the units making up the complex are not developing evenly. This seems to be the main shortcoming. For example, there is a lag in the preparation and treatment of raw materials for the pulp mills. You have to give serious thought to this, comrades, to think how to put things right.

Your region is carrying out one more highly important task, that of increasing the production of aluminium. Over recent years

this metal has acquired special value. It is used in different branches of the national economy. In many countries even window sashes have begun to be made from it. We too make them on some building sites. A considerable amount of this metal is produced by the Irkutsk and Bratsk factories today. That is certainly a big achievement. But here too there are possibilities for increasing production through more effective utilisation of existing capacities.

On the territory of your region begins the Baikal-Amur mainline, one of the principal construction projects of our country which is justly called the project of the century. I take this opportunity to address kind words to our Komsomol, which has taken charge of BAM. Following the call of their hearts, as real Soviet patriots, thousands of young men and women have come to this project from all parts of the country. And they are doing an excellent job. In general, it must be said that the young are helping us in everything. Our thanks go to them for this!

The Baikal-Amur mainline is a construction project of the era of advanced socialism, and it is important to see to it that the people who are building this railway already today have opportunities to study and to learn trades necessary both for the project and for the large enterprises there will be in this area. It is necessary to prepare for and begin utilising the unique natural riches in the zone of this railway that is under construction.

We must be able to provide good living conditions in the BAM zone, to pay more attention to the construction of houses, clubs and schools and to do so on a proper scale and at a proper technical level, taking the climatic conditions into account. It is a task of profound concern to the Party, and the Party organisations of all the territories and regions crossed by BAM should concern themselves with it.

One more thing I wish to mention. Although yours is an industrial region, one should not put up with the very low development rates of agriculture. True, in the two first years of the five-year period there has been a certain increase in the production of vegetables, milk, meat and eggs in the region. But you yourselves admit that it is insufficient. Industrial regions must have an agricultural base of their own and supply themselves with both livestock products and vegetables. It should be seen to it that, for instance, there are fresh vegetables in the shops all the year round. Is it really impossible to do this? It can and must be done, instead of bringing in vegetables, let us say, from the South or from other regions. Traffic of this kind is costly and if, in addition, it is negligently handled, irregularities arise in the distributive system, causing the justified discontent of the population.

Comrades, I am saying things which are evidently not new to you, but repetition is the mother of learning. Considering, in addition, that I am speaking on behalf of the CC and the government, you must give all due attention to the solution of the problems

of ensuring the supply of the population with locally-produced meat, milk, eggs and vegetables. People have now learned to grow vegetables in plastic-sheet hothouses all the year round. A good example is furnished by the Moskovsky state farm, which supplies Moscow with fresh vegetables. You can do the same.

I have been informed about a further matter. There are quite a few enterprises in your region which do not fulfil the plan. And what is the plan, comrades? It is the principal instrument in implementing the economic policy of the Party. Thousands of people in Moscow, in the republics and regions work out the plan as a coherent whole, taking into account all our possibilities. Once the plan has been endorsed, it must be carried out unfailingly. We have to learn to work rhythmically, without jerks and stoppages. This must be a rule of the life and activity of every Party organisation and work collective. When I say "to work without stoppages" I have in mind educational work as well. It is sometimes necessary to have a heart-to-heart talk with workers, with a team, to give them practical help in organising their work.

Characteristic of our working class is an attitude of concern for the affairs of their enterprises, creative initiative, a desire to augment the people's wealth. Concretely it is expressed in socialist emulation, in creative initiative. Emulation in our country has become effectual. It is being conducted not only within individual enterprises, but between enterprises situated in different cities, and so on. The necessity and correctness of this is borne out by experience.

I would like to express my confidence that the Irkutsk Party organisation, which is doing a lot to promote the region's economic development, will cope successfully with its tasks.

May I wish great labour successes to you and to all the working people of the region.

SPEECH AT A MEETING WITH BUILDERS OF BAM AT THE SKOVORODINO STATION

April 4, 1978

Dear comrades,

It gives me tremendous pleasure to be meeting with you, builders of the Baikal-Amur mainline today. I know that many of those who have come to this meeting are working where BAM has ceased being a mere project. The first trains are already running along it.

On other sections a great deal of work still remains to be done. The railway will stretch for three thousand-odd kilometres across the heretofore untrodden taiga, over permafrost ground and through monolithic rocks.

The tasks which you, comrades, face are not easy ones. But I am deeply convinced that they are within your power, the power of the heroic teams of youths and girls who have come to this great construction project in response to the Komsomol's call.

A pioneer's job is always difficult. But it is also interesting and honourable. Only yesterday you disturbed for the first time the taiga's eternal quiet; today not only has a railway been built there, but the foundations of the first cities are being laid and settlements have sprung up. Scientists, geologists, architects, designers and engineers are following in your footsteps. Before long industrial complexes will be established in these parts. BAM will help to make a fuller use of the tremendous mineral wealth of this zone, to solve in a new way the problem of the development of productive forces. This programme is of great state importance.

That is what stands behind your noble and truly selfless labour, comrades. It's the way in which the Soviet man has been brought up: in his daily work he does not think of the greatness of what he is doing. And you, too, evidently do not always ponder over the great importance of your work for our homeland.

The Party's Central Committee is showing tremendous concern for the BAM builders; much is being done to lighten your labour and improve your living conditions, and you have spoken about this in your speeches today.

Much has been done on the Baikal-Amur mainline, but still more remains to be done. The Party has trust in the youth. The Komsomol has never let us down! I am sure that on this occasion too the tasks will be carried out with credit.

I wish you fresh successes in your noble labour, and personal happiness to each of you, comrades!

We shall give an account of this meeting at the Komsomol Congress.

SPEECH AT A CONFERENCE OF THE FIRST SECRETARIES OF THE FAR EASTERN TERRITORIAL AND REGIONAL COMMITTEES OF THE CPSU *

April 6, 1978

At our conference today we have discussed questions of the comprehensive economic development of Eastern Siberia and the Far East which were raised by the 25th Party Congress and the December Plenary Meeting of the CC. The same questions have been touched upon during my meetings with the leaders of a number of territories and regions along the route of our trip to Vladivostok.

If one is to state briefly what we have achieved as we commence the third year of the five-year period, there are considerable successes which our Party can count to its credit.

In the past two years the economic potential of each republic and region of our country as a whole has grown appreciably. And you, too, comrades, have pointed to successes in the development of your territories and regions, even while expressing just criticisms.

These years have seen an increase in the basic production assets of the national economy. By way of illustration I may say that this increase equals the whole of the country's production assets in the mid-fifties. There is fairly good progress in retooling production on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. The Party's persistent and purposive agrarian policy is showing returns. Although we have experienced droughts and other climatic adversities in many regions during the past three years, the overall upsurge in agriculture, as envisaged by us at the plenary meeting in July 1970, has had its beneficial effect on the development of agriculture.

A considerable volume of capital construction work has been carried out in the past two years. Nearly 240,000 million roubles has been invested in the national economy during this period.

Our economic successes constitute the basis for the steady improvement of the people's wellbeing. In the past two years we have raised the average wages of a number of categories of factory and office workers, as provided for in the five-year plan, and we have increased the social consumption funds. The housing stock has been

* A summary

expanded considerably. You say that still not enough housing has been built. But in the past two years alone 22 million people have improved their housing conditions.

Such are, in brief, the economic and social indicators of our Party's work in carrying out the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the Central Committee's plenary meetings.

But you, comrades, spoke today both of our successes and shortcomings. I realise that this was dictated first of all by a desire to eliminate the existing shortcomings.

Listening to your reports, I took special note of how the so-called bottlenecks and difficulties about which we spoke at the December Plenary Meeting are being overcome in your regions and territories.

First, Leonid Brezhnev continued, of course, comes rational, thrifty utilisation of everything we have at our disposal. This includes raw and other materials, and agricultural produce. Losses of all kinds in the national economy must be reduced to a minimum.

You all make justified complaints about the working of the railways: there is a shortage of empty wagons for freight; wagons are not provided on schedule, and so on. Because of this stations fall behind schedule in loading and unloading the goods which industry and agriculture need.

In 1978 we allocated even more than is envisaged in the five-year plan for the capital reconstruction of railways and building of new ones and for increasing the lorry fleet. But I want to say that the difficulties with transport stem not only from a shortage of means of transportation. It is necessary to improve the planning of transport, to get down to reducing empty runs and ensuring the timely delivery of wagons for loading, to reduce loading and unloading time, to put warehouse facilities into order.

You told me today, Leonid Brezhnev continued, that the problem of transporting timber is being solved with difficulty in your regions. By the way, they told me the same thing in the Irkutsk region. Sometimes timber lies at stations for two or three years because wagons for shipping it are not delivered on time. It begins to rot, while industry is not receiving adequate supplies of timber. And timber means paper and wood chemistry. The problem of transporting timber must be solved by the ministries and agencies concerned. We cannot put up with this abnormal state of things.

Another bottleneck—and this was clear from your speeches here today, comrades—is the delay in commissioning industrial establishments, and the failure to complete construction. I have already spoken on this question more than once. I wish to say again: the solution of this problem is a matter of paramount importance. We shall call to strict account those guilty of violating the CC meeting's decisions. An end must be put, at long last, to the situation in which one executive shifts the blame onto another, pleading that he has not been supplied with building materials, piping, and so on. One cannot absolve oneself of responsibility by this kind of talk.

We have invested the heads of ministries and agencies with rights so that they may take concrete practical decisions and not conduct useless correspondence among themselves. We cannot close our eyes to wastefulness.

By no means everywhere in your regions is full use being made of production capacities, Leonid Brezhnev said. You will agree that this is so. This is due to the low average machine shift, to irregular deliveries of raw materials and subassemblies, and so on. I am saying this in order to call the attention of the Party and economic organisations to this once again. A look should be taken once again, comrades, at existing internal reserves, and foremost workers should be consulted as to how to make best use of production capacities, how to direct the efforts to implement this task. Because sometimes it so happens that existing capacities are still underutilised but money is already being requested for the construction of new capacities of the same kind. I recall an incident during my visit to a plant in Irkutsk a few days ago. A worker there had invented a device for doubling the productivity of labour. He told me about it himself. It is very important and necessary to talk with workers, to heed what they say and examine it closely.

One more problem is that of manpower turnover. We must give deep thought to how to secure personnel stability in the Far East. The turnover is evidently due both to the insufficiency of housing and to the lag in the construction of cultural and everyday service establishments. Account must also be taken of the climatic conditions, which demand better supply of warm clothing and other goods.

It has been justly said here, Leonid Brezhnev continued, that the agricultural base should be expanded to meet the requirements of meat, milk and vegetables through local production as much as possible.

We are beginning the spring sowing. This must be conducted quickly and without losses, and care must be taken about storing the future harvest. The effectiveness of agricultural production can be raised by cutting the losses of grain, vegetables and potatoes. If proper storage facilities are prepared and the problem of transport is attended to, this task can be accomplished. It must be tackled by ministries, agencies and Party and economic organisations at all levels.

Allow me, comrades, to thank you for the meeting, to wish you great success in your lofty labour, to wish the working people of the regions and territories headed by you new labour achievements for the good of our great homeland. I am convinced, Leonid Brezhnev said in conclusion, that the Party, government and economic organisations will utilise more fully the reserves which the Far East possesses, that they will augment the wealth of our country and will fulfil the assignments of the five-year plan ahead of schedule.

**SPEECH ABOARD CRUISER "ADMIRAL
SENYAVIN" BEFORE PACIFIC FLEET
PERSONNEL WHO TOOK PART IN MILITARY
EXERCISES**

April 7, 1978

Dear comrades,

Allow me on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the Politbureau of the Central Committee and from myself personally to greet you and through you all sailors, officers and admirals of the glorious Pacific Fleet, the bearer of the Order of the Red Banner.

I watched today the exercises of your fleet and I can say with great satisfaction that the personnel and command of the fleet have carried out enormous work in mastering new equipment and perfecting the technique of conducting naval operations.

I am convinced that the Pacific Fleet and its personnel will continue to discharge with credit their sacred duty of reliably guarding the state interests of the Soviet Union.

In conditions of peace, we are tackling major economic and social problems set by the 25th Congress of the CPSU. In the centre of our plans is a steady rise in the living standards of the Soviet people.

In considering the plans outlined by the Party for the further development of our country and the problems of economic growth, we cannot, of course, ignore the way the international situation develops.

The present state of affairs in the world is characterised by a turn toward a relaxation of international tension. The consistent implementation by our Party of a Leninist foreign policy and the purposeful efforts of the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist states and all the peace forces and peoples have played a tremendous role in achieving the impressive successes on this road.

These successes did not come easily, they were achieved through an intense struggle. And the struggle over the question of the further destiny of detente is still going on, at times growing even more acute and intense.

Comrades,

For all the significance of this or that problem, there is no more important task at present than that of achieving real disarmament; this is a task that concerns the destiny of every person on earth. The main problem now is to stop the arms race, to ensure progress toward reducing and eventually removing the threat of a thermonuclear disaster. It is here, in this direction, that the basic question—the question of how the world situation will develop further—is decided; and it is here that the most bitter struggle is unfolding.

It is no secret that both to the west and to the east of our frontiers there are forces which are interested in the arms race, in working up an atmosphere of fear and hostility. They sow doubts as to the possibility of taking practical steps to limit armaments and achieve disarmament, and hamper efforts to reach agreement in this field.

The activities of these forces have an adverse effect on the position of the USA and of some other countries that are partners of the Soviet Union in the talks on curbing and stopping the arms race.

As is known, a Soviet-US summit meeting took place in the Far East, in Vladivostok, in November, 1974. It led to an accord on the conclusion between the USSR and the USA of a long-term agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. Having assessed all aspects of the matter, the two sides concluded that it was possible to complete the drafting of the agreement in the following year, 1975.

However, almost three and a half years passed since that time and an agreement has not yet been signed. I have already had occasion to mention the reasons for this. The experience of the talks, and our earlier agreements in this sphere show that given proper awareness of the great importance of the problem and a real desire to reach agreement on the basis of equality and equal security, the sides can together resolve what would seem to be the most complex of problems. And the documents that are being prepared now have already been thrashed out and have been largely agreed upon.

And if the final completion of this work is, nevertheless, being delayed, this is, evidently, due to political reasons. The point is that the United States government is both indecisive and inconsistent; it constantly looks back over its shoulder at those circles which have been against this agreement from the very start and which are now doing everything they can to thwart it and thus to free their hands for carrying on an uncontrolled missile-nuclear arms race. That is apparently why the US side has repeatedly attempted during the talks to amend in its favour or to call into question what was agreed upon earlier, and, instead of conducting a businesslike discussion, has tried to raise all kinds of questions behind which is concealed only one thing—the absence of a readiness to look for practical solutions. Moreover, it has shown a tendency to link in some way progress at the talks and the future of the agreement in general

with other political problems in the hope of bringing pressure to bear on the Soviet Union.

Such a policy line on the part of the United States manifested itself soon after the Vladivostok meeting. As a result of this, work on the agreement was practically stalled and even set back in several aspects.

Great efforts were required to put the talks back on the track of the Vladivostok accord. But this has finally been done. Principled solutions of some remaining questions have been found and the range of questions still to be worked upon has, on the whole, been considerably narrowed. This has been achieved largely owing to the Soviet Union's patient and constructive stand.

It is understandable, however, that the remaining questions cannot be solved without the United States taking steps and meeting us halfway. But, frankly, we have not seen such steps of late. One gets the impression that some people in the United States are inclined to interpret our readiness to conclude an agreement as an opportunity for the USA to obtain unilateral advantages. This is the only way to explain the continued attempts at the talks to crode somehow, for instance, the understanding reached on limitations on Cruise missiles or to impose unjustified limitations on Soviet missiles while leaving for the United States full freedom of action for modernising and creating new types of practically all components of strategic arms.

We resolutely reject any attempts to impose unacceptable terms of agreement on us. We have said and we say now that the Soviet Union stands for the earliest achievement of an agreement, but only the kind of agreement that would be strictly in keeping with the principle of equality and equal security and that would really embody this basic principle. We do not demand that the agreement give us any advantages at the expense of the other side, but we expect the other side to take a similar approach. There can be no other solution.

Further delay and all kinds of manoeuvres around the talks can only lead to missing the very opportunity to conclude an agreement and, hence, an opportunity to go over later to more far-reaching steps to limit and reduce strategic arms. It is our firm conviction that such a prospect cannot benefit anyone.

We would like to hope, therefore, that proper conclusions would be drawn in Washington and that a course would be finally taken there toward a fruitful completion of the talks.

There are a whole number of other disarmament questions which are now being discussed and whose solution is long overdue. Our constructive proposals on this matter are well known. Also well known is the broad series of concrete measures our country has proposed for consolidating the relaxation of military tension in Europe. We intend to work persistently for the implementation of all these measures.

Statements in favour of disarmament have been made lately in the West, the USA included. But the peoples of the world judge not by words but by deeds. The question of neutron weapons provides a good example of this. This is a new type of weapon of mass destruction. Any talk about such weapons being "defensive" in character does not correspond to reality. These are nuclear offensive weapons, weapons designed chiefly to destroy people. This weapon increases the risks of a nuclear war.

Faced with a mass protest movement against the plans to develop and deploy these weapons in Europe, the USA and some other NATO countries are trying to mislead the peoples by pretending that they are ready to hold talks with the Soviet Union on this question while in fact they are trying to make it the subject of bargaining and tying this weapon to unrelated issues. Concealed behind all this is a desire to evade considering the clear-cut and concrete Soviet proposal for mutual commitment not to manufacture neutron weapons. Such manoeuvring, of course, does not testify to any serious intention to achieve disarmament. Nor does it facilitate progress toward this goal.

It is high time some leaders of the West ponder in earnest their responsibility to their own peoples, to all peoples for the destiny of the world, and show in deeds a readiness to take effective steps toward curbing the arms race.

The Soviet Union, for its part, will continue its efforts to achieve a steady advance along the road of military détente and the transition to real disarmament. Such is our firm policy and we shall continue to implement it unswervingly.

Comrades,

We do not threaten anyone. The talk about the so-called Soviet menace is an invention of the opponents of the relaxation of international tension and nothing more. We are improving our defences for the sole purpose of upholding the gains of the Great October Revolution, of safeguarding the peaceful work of the Soviet people, of our friends and allies. It is this noble aim that the Soviet Army and Navy serve.

The glory of the Soviet Navy is everlasting. So may you always be worthy of it. Enhance your combat efficiency, improve your political training, carry honorably the banner of the Soviet Armed Forces!

Allow me, comrades, to wish the best of success to you and to the people of Vladivostok, a city where the revolutionary, combat and labour traditions of the older generations of the inhabitants of this coast are being devotedly cherished.

Long live the Soviet Navy which reliably guards the sacred frontiers of our Motherland!

**SPEECH AT THE LENIN KOMSOMOL
ENGINEERING PLANT TO REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE WORKERS OF
KOM SOMOLSK-ON-AMUR**

April 8, 1978

Comrades,

While in the Far East, I could not fail to visit your wonderful city. I have come here for the first time. Even what we have had the time to see so far is tremendously impressive. It is a stupendous panorama of a modern industrial city built where only recently there was nothing but dense taiga.

To every Soviet person Komsomolsk-on-Amur is not merely an important industrial, scientific and cultural centre in the East of the country. It is a city with an unusual history. Many of us vividly remember the truly unforgettable nineteen-thirties, when the industrial development of the Far East had become a nationwide cause, one of the major tasks in the building of socialism.

Our country sent its finest sons and daughters to the banks of the Amur then. They went to that faraway but rich land on Komsomol assignments, following the call of their hearts, in order to build a major industrial centre, to erect on the Amur a city named after them.

Forty-five years have passed since the foundation-stone of Komsomolsk was laid. It is not a long time for a city. But how much has been done since then. Today Komsomolsk is a modern city with all amenities, with everything necessary for a full-fledged life—general and specialised secondary schools, institutes, cinemas, children's establishments. Its factories and mills produce steel, seagoing ships, electric bridge cranes, oil products, dozens of items of foundry equipment, prefabricated ferroconcrete structures and consumer goods.

Your city's industrial production is playing an important part in the development of the productive forces of the entire Far Eastern economic region. The city now even has its own satellite towns of

Amursk and Solnechny with engineering and wood processing industries.

But Komsomolsk's greatest wealth are its inhabitants, its workers and engineers, teachers and students—tireless men and women of labour, real patriots of their land boundlessly devoted to the cause of the Party, to the cause of the people. Being well aware that their city is situated in a frontier zone, they do not spare their forces, energy and knowledge for the sake of the lofty goal of strengthening the economic and defensive power of their socialist homeland, working selflessly and displaying high political vigilance, a sense of responsibility, and organisation.

The first builders of the city are known to everybody. Many of them still remain at their post, regarded by the young people of today as an example. It gives one joy to see, comrades, that sons and daughters are growing up in our big Soviet family who are worthy continuers of our common cause, the building of communism. I have seen once again that this is so from the example of your plant, every other employee of which is a communist labour shock worker, which has hundreds of young workers who have fully mastered the latest technology and with its help are achieving high quality and good indices in their work.

I have been told today that most of your workers and engineers are working in accordance with individual plans whose implementation is speeding technical progress. It is a characteristic feature of the socialist emulation of the era of the full-scale building of communism that every work collective recognises its high responsibility in managing production, and not only recognises it, but also exercises it in a businesslike way. This is a characteristic sign of the times testifying to the triumph of our socialist democracy.

As you know, during the discussion of the draft of the Constitution the Constitution Commission received thousands of proposals for having the Fundamental Law reflect more broadly the functions and rights of work collectives.

These proposals were taken into account and the Constitution has granted work collectives extensive rights in such spheres as the planning of production and social development, the training and appointment of personnel, improving the working and living conditions of workers, raising their skills and qualifications, and fostering a communist attitude to work.

By recognising in law the importance of the work collective as the primary unit of the whole of our economic organism Soviet society has given it very extensive rights in deciding very important affairs of state. Nowhere else in the world do working people enjoy such rights.

The main effect expected from socialist emulation today are not individual achievements and records, even high ones, but the smooth, well-co-ordinated functioning of every work collective, without anyone lagging behind. Only in this way will we be able to main-

tain high production and planning discipline in all the units of the national economy, to find and utilise ever new reserves and to improve the quality of the end product.

It is no secret, comrades, that along with forefront workers there are people in factories and mills who do not fulfil their quotas, who do not take care of public property, who shirk work and turn out defective goods. Instances of this evidently occur in your plants too. This calls for serious and self-critical thought on the part of the work collectives and their Party, trade union and Komsomol organisations, in order to put a speedy stop to this. This is your lofty right as workers, comrades, it is your civic duty and, one may say, your obligation.

The Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet government constantly concern themselves with raising the wellbeing of people in the Far East. In recent years the Central Committee has taken measures to improve the standard of living of the working people in Komsomolsk-on-Amur, the Komsomolsk district and several areas in the Amur district of the Khabarovsk Territory. This testifies to the practical realisation of the far-flung social programme adopted by the 25th Congress of our Party. I am sure that in response to the care of the Party and the state the people of your city will score fresh successes in labour.

In short, there will be no decrease in the amount of work to be done in your wonderful city, in your Far Eastern lands. I can assure you of this. On the contrary, reclamation of the territory will be stepped up in keeping with the programme for developing the regions of Siberia and the Far East.

Such are the ways, the rates of development of life in our country, comrades.

Permit me to wish your city that it remain young, multiply its glorious traditions and be a symbol of courage, labour and heroism for all present and future generations.

I wish you great successes in labour. I hope that you, the machine builders of Komsomolsk-on-Amur, will fulfil with honour the assignments of the five-year plan and will always be among front-rank workers.

Thank you for your fine work, comrades.

TO THE AMERICAN READER

Foreword to a book

*"Leonid I. Brezhnev. Pages from His Life" **

This book has been written at the suggestion of Simon & Schuster Publishers. I agreed to write the foreword because its publication in the United States will, it seems to me, help the American reader get a better knowledge of the life of the Soviet people and thereby promote understanding between our nations, which bear a special responsibility in the world today.

Moreover, I feel that my biography is a part of the biography of the entire Soviet people. I had not yet reached the age of eleven when a historical event of immense significance, the revolution of October 25 (November 7), 1917, occurred in Russia. I witnessed the birth of a new era in modern history—although, naturally, I realised this only as I grew older.

Today, in the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, as I look back over the years that have passed, I see with utmost clarity that the victory of that revolution determined the whole course of my life. It was only Soviet power that enabled me, the son of a worker, who began life as an ordinary worker, to rise to the leadership of a glorious many-millions-strong party and of history's first socialist state. Through all my life I worked hard. I worked in industry and in agriculture, in the center and in remote areas of the country. When our Motherland was invaded, I joined millions of Soviet people in the trenches to defend her and spent all four of the war years at the front. I often recall those bitter years—the war in which the peoples of the Soviet Union, the United States, and other countries fought shoulder to shoulder against fascism, the most sinister enemy of humankind, the enemy of civilization, humanity, and culture. The memory of those who did not return home, of the razed towns and villages, and of the incalculable human tragedies of those years intensifies the desire to prevent a military con-

* The book was published by Simon & Schuster Publishers, USA, in 1978.

flagration from ever again enveloping the globe. Having gone through the entire war, I know well what this means. For that reason I am determined to devote all my life to preventing the outbreak of another world war.

Needless to say, at various stages life posed different tasks. I met and worked together with many people in different parts of my tremendous country. Perhaps I was lucky. Life usually brought me into contact with good, strong, and interesting people. I gained experience, and my world outlook widened. I grew together with my people, country, and Party and shared with them the joys and sorrows, successes and anxieties, achievements and hopes.

In our country, the Communist Party is not only the ruling party but also the recognised leader, inspirer, and organiser of all of the people's major affairs. By virtue of this, the Party organisations, the Central Committee and its Political Bureau, have to deal with a wide range of questions. Party and state matters and duties occupy not only most of the working day but the *entire* day of Party officials, particularly those who are in leading posts, including, of course, myself as the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In fact, they occupy their entire lives. In June 1977 I was accorded great trust: I was again elected also as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Everybody knows that there is a considerable distinction between the Soviet Union and the United States in the social and political systems and the world outlook, in historical backgrounds and long-standing traditions, in the ways of life, and in the geographical and international political positions.

But one can easily see that there is also much in common in the character of our peoples, as indeed of many other peoples. Besides, the Soviet Union and the United States share much that is similar: the size of territory, natural wealth, the scale of production, and the development of a high level of science and technology. Our two countries can, by virtue of their positions in the world, do a great deal to avert another world war and its unprecedentedly catastrophic consequences.

Also, much depends on our two countries' abilities to carry out such complex and pressing human tasks as protecting the environment on our planet, exploring outer space, reproducing and intelligently utilising the earth's energy and food resources, and combating the most dangerous mass diseases.

However, *the most important and the most urgent* task is that of the preservation of peace, the prevention of war. The road to this lies through ending the arms race.

Some unscrupulous politicians and economically influential circles, and the mass media associated with them, are endeavouring to intimidate Americans with the false claim that the Soviet Union is preparing to attack the United States and Western Europe.

I have said more than once that this "Soviet menace" bogey is malicious nonsense. Ever since the days of Lenin we have been emphatically and in principle against settling the historic dispute between socialism and capitalism by war. Look at the plans for the economic and social development of the Soviet Union: they are oriented toward the preservation of peace, toward the exclusion of war from the life of present and future generations. This applies fully to the plans charted by the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1976. The arms race, on the other hand, signifies not only the material preparation for war but also a colossal dissipation of wealth that could be used for the benefit of our two peoples, as well as for the benefit of many other peoples.

The Soviet people are a peace-loving nation. The spirit of wars of aggression, militarism, and aggrandisement is profoundly alien to them. Our country is making vigorous efforts to prevent war, to consolidate detente, to complement detente in the political field with detente in the military field. The Soviet Union has advanced many concrete and realistic proposals for the attainment of these aims. They are dealt with in the relevant sections of this book.

In short, the Soviet Union is doing its utmost to prevent war, to stop the preparations for it, to halt the manufacture of the endless succession of new types of armaments. We are holding out our hand to all who are prepared to join us in fulfilling this truly great objective.

Some years ago I had an opportunity to visit the United States. There were many meetings and talks with statesmen, civic leaders, members of Congress, businessmen, journalists, and even astronauts. Far from being always in agreement with everybody and on everything, we were able to talk quietly and frankly. As far as we know, not only my comrades and I but also the people we talked to found much evidence that the Soviet Union and the United States can and do enjoy a mutually beneficial association in vast fields. Many also found that we could and should settle peacefully the outstanding and acute problems worrying our peoples and all humankind and that there were considerable possibilities for cooperation between our countries. This is needed, above all, so that American and Soviet children can grow up beneath a peaceful sky, will not hear the whistle of bullets and the explosion of bombs, will not know the tragic calamities of war, so that their future may be not the battlefield but the sphere of peaceful creative work, so that they will never share a feeling of hostility toward each other.

I should like to remind you that our countries had a good experience of fruitful cooperation during the Second World War. In those years, despite their different social and economic systems, the Soviet Union and the United States successfully cooperated and complemented each other's efforts in the struggle against fascism. Today, when it is a matter of delivering humankind from the threat of nuclear annihilation, cooperation between our two countries acquires partic-

ularly great significance. The edifice of detente cannot be allowed to collapse under the onslaught of the protagonists of cold war and the arms race.

The establishment of a spirit of mutual understanding and confidence is one of the vital preconditions of cooperation. Cooperation is possible only when relations are founded on mutual benefit and mutual respect and on noninterference in each other's internal affairs. As everybody knows, this has become a cardinal principle of the modern world community. The more so must this become a norm of relations between two powerful states. The attempts to gain something out of inflammatory artificial propaganda campaigns and out of a feverish race to develop new means of mass annihilation can only lead to the deterioration of the international atmosphere and an aggravation of relations, and this is something in which our peoples are not at all interested.

I should like to make the point again: the Soviet people have friendly feelings for the people of the United States. The development and strengthening of our relations with the United States of America constitute one of the paramount tasks of our country's foreign policy. A good foundation has been laid and some important progress has been made in this direction in the past few years. However, much remains to be done. For our part we are prepared to do it. I profoundly believe that the further and stable improvement of relations between our countries is possible, and I intend to do everything in my power to make Soviet-American relations a factor of lasting peace and international cooperation.

L. BREZHNEV

SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN UPON PRESENTING AWARDS TO PILOT-COSMONAUTS OF THE SPACE RESEARCH COMPLEX "SALYUT-6"— "SOYUZ"

April 11, 1978

Dear comrades and friends,

Today is a red-letter day for cosmonautics. The land of Soviets honours the participants in one of the outstanding stages of space exploration. What has been achieved during nearly one hundred days at the end of 1977 and in January-March, 1978, is a veritable exploit. It is a scientific, technical, organisational exploit and, first of all, a human one.

Due to a series of measures that have been thoroughly prepared and implemented with great ability, courage and daring, mankind has made a new remarkable step in unravelling the mysteries of the Universe and making them serve man's will and mind. And this step will go down in history for ever, just as the names of those who made it.

And we are proud that the heroes of the new space epic are our own Soviet people and a citizen of fraternal socialist Czechoslovakia.

It was with great pleasure that I carried out the instruction of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and presented the awards to the heroes of outer space, Soviet cosmonauts Yuri Romanenko, Georgi Grechko, Vladimir Dzhanibekov, Oleg Makarov, Alexei Gubarev and Czechoslovakian cosmonaut Vladimir Remek.

It is difficult to overestimate all that has been done during the manned flight of the scientific-research orbital complex.

The 96-day flight, made by Romanenko and Grechko, has broken the world record for length of stay in outer space.

There has also never before been an orbiting station with two docked spacecraft in the history of cosmonautics.

An automatic envoy of the Earth, a transport ship, also arrived for the first time at an orbital station, carrying new supplies of fuel,

materials, instruments and even fresh mail. All firsts, and this means that everything was particularly difficult, particularly crucial.

All was done excellently: the flight, the docking and the implementation of an extensive programme of major scientific and technological researches.

The training and courage of the cosmonauts, the devoted labour of those who prepared the flight and ensured exact, faultless operation of the entire most intricate space research complex, produced their results. Another big contribution has been made to the implementation of the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU on the development of exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes.

And now we come to the deserved awards.

In recognition of the successful long flight on board the orbital complex *Salyut-6-Soyuz* and the courage and heroism displayed, high awards were earned by the cosmonauts, who lived for such a long period in orbit. The titles of Hero of the Soviet Union and Pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR were conferred upon Yuri Romanenko, and the Order of Lenin and a second Gold Star Medal were conferred upon Georgi Grechko.

In recognition of the excellent flight on the complex *Salyut-6-Soyuz* and the implementation of the big experimental programme the titles of Hero of the Soviet Union and Pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR were conferred upon Vladimir Dzhanibekov, and Oleg Makarov was presented with the Order of Lenin and a second Gold Star Medal.

I ardently congratulate you with the outstanding achievements and wish you success in the further exploration of outer space, which is highly important to the country and mankind as a whole.

Comrades, the flight of the *Salyut-6-Soyuz* complex also marked the beginning of a fundamentally new stage in man's work in outer space; it was the first flight of an international space crew. The joint work of scientists of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries over many years in the study and exploration of outer space has now been supplemented by joint flights in outer space.

This is acknowledged to be only a beginning. It will be continued. The fraternal friendship and cooperation of the countries of the socialist community went beyond the boundaries of our planet into the expanses of the Universe. We are glad and proud of this.

The exploit of the members of the international space crew deserved high praise. In recognition of the successful space flight in the scientific-research orbital complex *Salyut-6-Soyuz*, Alexei Gubarev was awarded the Order of Lenin and a second Gold Star Medal, and the title of Hero of the Soviet Union was conferred upon Vladimir Remek.

I congratulate you, dear pioneers of international exploration of outer space, by presenting you with these high awards. Dear comrades Romanenko, Grechko, Dzhanibekov, Makarov, Gubarev and

Remek, the high awards of our country that have been conferred on you represent a just appreciation of your dedicated labour in orbit, and are an acknowledgement of your great services to science and to our fraternal peoples.

We are certain that you will continue tirelessly to improve your knowledge and increase your proficiency and will always be ready to fulfil the assignments of your countries in the study and exploration of outer space in the name of peace and progress on earth.

From the bottom of my heart I wish you, dear comrades, good health, happiness and further success in your strenuous work.

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE
PRESENTATION OF THE ORDER OF THE
OCTOBER REVOLUTION TO EDWARD GIEREK,
FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE POLISH UNITED
WORKERS' PARTY**

April 18, 1978

Dear comrades,

We have assembled here today to present the Order of the October Revolution to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Comrade Edward Gierek. This high Soviet decoration has been awarded to our distinguished guest on the occasion of his 65th birthday and in recognition of his great contribution to the cause of consolidating peace and socialism and of his outstanding role in promoting fraternal friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Poland.

In the Soviet Union, you, Comrade Gierek, are well known as a staunch fighter for the triumph of the ideas of socialism on Polish soil and a prominent leader of the international communist and working-class movement, as a true friend of our country. For these reasons you have won the respect and sincere affection of the Soviet people.

The Polish people will be celebrating a landmark in their history later this year. Sixty years ago the Great October Socialist Revolution made it possible for them to restore their national statehood. The decree granting independence to Poland was signed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The leader of the proletarian revolution supported the right of the Poles to self-determination, while passionately believing in the closest possible class alliance of the Polish and Russian workers.

This alliance has long since become a reality. It has been tested in the life-and-death struggle against fascism. It is helping our two sister nations to build a new type of society, to guard and multiply the gains of the revolution and defend peace on earth.

It is with a sense of comradely solidarity that the Soviet people are following the dynamic growth of friendly Poland and the efforts of her Communists and working people in carrying out their programme of building advanced socialism. We know that this is no easy task, but one involving big, sometimes difficult problems. But we need not doubt that the working class and all working people of Poland will successfully cope with this historic mission and turn their country into a prospering socialist state.

Dear Comrade Gierek,

In handing you the Order of the October Revolution, I want to wish you with all my heart the best of health and success in your activity for the good of the Polish people and for the sake of establishing an even closer friendship between our parties and countries.

SPEECH AT THE 18TH CONGRESS OF THE ALL-UNION LENINIST YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

April 25, 1978

Comrade delegates, esteemed guests of the Congress,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU and all members of our Party of Lenin, I extend warm greetings to the participants in our highest Komsomol assembly, and through you to all Komsomol members and the whole Soviet youth.

Fifty-eight years ago, speaking at the 3rd Congress of the then still very young Komsomol, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin singled out as most important the question of "what we should teach the youth and how the youth should learn if it really wants to justify the name of Communist youth, and how it should be trained so as to be able to complete and consummate what we have started" (V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 284).

Lenin's approach to the matter has retained all its relevance today. What we should teach the youth and how the youth should learn (not only in the sense of learning at school, of course, but also in the broader sense of learning life) so as to be able to become true builders of communism—this is still the main thing in the work of the Komsomol and in the Party's guidance of this work.

By and large, I think, Communists of the older generation can be pleased with Soviet youth of the present day. They are growing up with communist convictions, and are deeply faithful to the cause of the Party and the great Lenin. Millions of young men and women are models of courage, tenacity and fidelity to the ideals of the October Revolution. They are working with great enthusiasm in all sectors of the front of communist construction, and are actively furthering the fulfilment of the country's strenuous development plans. They inject their unique, romantic spirit and, I should say, youthful fervour, into every undertaking. For this we thank the Komsomol and all young people of our Soviet land.

May the pure flame of patriotism burn on in your hearts, along with a noble sense of personal responsibility for your job and for all that is happening in the country.

The 25th Congress of our Party endorsed an extensive programme for the current five years and the longer term. It is directed to one aim—that the Soviet people should enjoy an even better life, that they should lead fuller and happier lives and that we should advance ever more confidently to communism, our radiant goal. Much of what the Party has set out in the five-year plan is being successfully achieved, but much still remains to be done, and this, of course, also by you young people.

I.

The striving for efficiency and quality is a most important hallmark of our country's present period. This is no passing campaign. It is a course taken by the Party, as we say, in all earnest and for a long time. It is not only the key task of the current five-year period, but also the determining factor in our economic and social development for many years ahead. If you like, it is also an educational programme for a whole generation of Soviet people.

Our country has colossal natural riches. The exertions of several generations have created a powerful economic potential in both our industry and agriculture. We have raised and trained large numbers of educated and qualified cadres and have secured fairly good conditions of life for our people.

It is now more important than ever to use all this wealth thriftily and sensibly, to make it serve the people profitably and to use it with the maximum benefit.

Certainly, efficiency and quality are very broad concepts. They include such basic elements as the most rational distribution of the productive forces, the improvement of nationwide planning and a comprehensive approach to major economic problems. In this respect the Party has—specifically at last year's December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee—set clear-cut tasks to our government bodies, notably the State Planning Committee and the ministries concerned. But in solving them much depends on each enterprise, each workshop and team and each worker.

What does this mean?

It means that you must work not simply with discipline and diligence but also conscientiously, skillfully, efficiently and work well, so that others should respect you for your work and you, too, should have self-respect.

It means that work must be organised sensibly at every work place, with an effective system of incentives for stable and high-quality production and for its further improvement.

This means making thrifty use of the nation's material wealth the prime law in the life and labour of Soviet people, and searching perseveringly for new ways of eliminating unproductive expenditure.

This means that in our work collectives we must create such a moral atmosphere and mentality that everyone will consider it his natural duty—and will have the opportunity—to work at maximum efficiency and to maximum effect, an atmosphere in which the position of idlers, truants, bodgers and pilferers of public property will be truly intolerable.

These are our tasks, comrades. The Party has set them out clearly and persuasively. Millions of working people have approved the Party's call and responded to it in their work.

You probably know from press reports of the extensive, systematic and painstaking work done in this connection at enterprises in Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, Lvov, the Urals, the Kuznetsk basin, Tashkent and Karaganda, and in many other work collectives across the country.

Youth are actively involved in these efforts. You have advanced the slogan, "Youthful ardour and creativity for the five-year plan of efficiency and quality". This is a splendid slogan. And it is a point of honour for the Komsomol to secure its daily application by all young workers, collective farmers, technicians, and engineers.

Useful experience has been gained at our leading enterprises, such as the Volga motor works, in tackling the problem of higher production efficiency and higher quality labour in a comprehensive manner. We have a right to expect that such experience will spread far and wide. And it is also up to the Komsomol to promote this.

Or take the Shchekino method. It enables a considerable rise in production with a drop in the number of workers. One would think everything is clear. But the method has not so far won the following it deserves. Some managers and officials do not seem able to shake off long-established canons, to revise and alter certain principles of management and forms of organising production.

It is high time, comrades, that we should learn to introduce advanced experience effectively and carry every useful undertaking through to the end.

What are the decisive sectors in the campaign for efficiency and quality in our economy today? There are several. But I would again give pride of place to capital construction and transport. Our success along the entire economic front depends in many ways on improving the state of affairs in these sectors. These matters were closely studied at the December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee last year and, as you know, I had occasion to refer to them again during my recent visit to the country's Eastern regions.

As I have already stressed, we shall be very exacting towards economic managers for inefficiency, for inability to deploy energy and resources correctly and for freezing national resources in uncompleted construction. But the matter concerns not only managers. It

also depends on the work and sense of responsibility of millions of people employed in construction and transport, and among them millions of young men and women, including members of the Komsomol. Special importance attaches here to creative initiative, to dedicated work in all sectors and to the emulation movement, whose main purpose is to secure the ultimate economic results for the country as a whole.

It would be useful, for example, to take up on a broad scale the initiative of emulation among related trades on the principle of a "work relay", which is a competition between building workers, designers and industrial, transport and agricultural workers for the prompt or pre-schedule commissioning of the most important plants and projects in the five-year plan.

As concerns transport, here we can point to the valuable Leningrad workers' initiative—the experience of cooperation between seamen, railwaymen and road transport and river fleet workers in the Leningrad transport zone.

These and similar undertakings need your support, dear friends; they need your energy and youthful enthusiasm.

The Komsomol has always been a reliable steward of great Soviet building projects. This splendid tradition continues. But the projects have changed in many ways. Today they constitute not only separate giant building sites but embrace vast geographical areas.

Let me here take just one such area. Its importance for the country's future is increasing from day to day. I mean Western Siberia or, more precisely, the Tyumen region.

In a matter of ten years we have turned this taiga land into our country's chief supplier of petroleum. A powerful gas and chemicals industry is being built there. No longer are forest or deer paths typical of the Tyumen landscape, but rising cities, oil and gas fields, factories, railways and roads. And on what a scale! Think of it, comrades: one million square kilometres on the Ob River are being economically developed and settled. This equals approximately the combined area of Spain, Italy and Britain.

Yes, we did not hesitate to invest huge resources there. And were not mistaken. The expenditure was justified. Today, Tyumen supplies nearly half of Soviet oil and a large amount of gas. Several days ago our Party's Central Committee congratulated the oil workers of Western Siberia on their one thousand millionth ton of oil. This is a big labour victory. Glory and honour to those who get the northern black gold for us!

We will live with the Tyumen deposits for many years to come. And in the next ten years we expect to get the bulk of the increase in oil and gas output and of the output of valuable chemical raw materials made from them exactly in Tyumen. In this connection we are entering or, more precisely, have already entered a new and more complicated stage in the development of Western Siberia. The

work there is to be doubled or trebled. This will call for new material and technical outlays and for an influx of people.

What could the Komsomol do to help Western Siberia? I am aware that 13 Komsomol priority projects are already under construction there. Still, I would ask you to redouble attention to this area.

What the building projects need is not simply hands. A definite number of building workers, assemblymen, drivers, drillers, teachers and people of other professions must be sent there—that is the need.

When the "offensive" on Western Siberia was just beginning, a slogan was advanced to take its wealth not by number but by skill, that is, by means of up-to-date technology and techniques. And much has been accomplished here.

Take the prefabricated unit method of building which, incidentally, was developed and introduced by young, enthusiastic workers and engineers of *Tyumen Gasmontazh* (a construction trust). What the method amounts to in substance is that many of the oilfield facilities are manufactured complete in factory shops far from the building site, and are then delivered in units to any remote place, where it only remains to assemble them.

It is estimated that this method makes it possible to quadruple the productivity of labour in fitting out the Siberian oilfields. And that means a reduction of thousands, even tens of thousands, in the number of workers needed.

As you see, the development of Western Siberia can also be helped by those who are working elsewhere. For this those who are filling Tyumen orders—whether in the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, the Volga lands, Moscow, or any other part of the country—should assume Komsomol stewardship over them and help develop the spaces and mineral resources of Tyumen with the minimum manpower.

I believe that this principle can also be applied to other large building projects. Experience of this kind already exists. There is the Leningraders' pledge, for example, to fill orders of building projects ahead of schedule. Involve the youth everywhere in this undertaking, comrades, and keep the orders for the country's building projects under constant supervision. Let the "Komsomol Spotlight" give no rest to those who fall behind.

Now about agriculture.

Undoubtedly, we have accomplished much in carrying out the Party's agricultural policy. But much has still to be done in order effectively to meet the growing demands of Soviet people and the needs of industry. Our current plans as well as new projects on which the Party is working at present are oriented toward these aims. Raising the efficiency of agriculture, notably that of animal husbandry, is a cardinal task.

Let me be frank: it will be hard to accomplish it without the active involvement of youth.

Of course, this applies first of all to youth in the countryside. They personify the future and in many ways determine the present of Soviet agriculture. Nowadays our farming is inconceivable without machinery. That is why we attach fundamental importance to the Komsomol motto, "If you live in the country you must know farming machinery". The technical training of young men and women in country areas must proceed on a truly mass scale.

Our countryside is changing. Houses built there in the past 13 years total 450 million square metres. This is no trifle, comrades; it matches the total of prewar housing in Soviet cities. Villages boast houses of culture, shopping centres and cafes—many of them not inferior to those in cities. It is up to the youth, the Komsomol, to be the chief driving force behind these changes, to operate the new machinery, to build the modern villages and introduce a high level of culture there.

Certainly, people cannot be made to stay in the countryside by edict. Creating good working and living conditions, cultivating a respect for farm work and a love of nature and of the land, and the ability and desire to turn one's hands to it—that is our method of attracting the rising generation to working in the fields and on livestock farms.

Let me recall the initiative of school-leavers in Kostroma region. They wanted to stay and work on the land. And as I was preparing for this meeting with you, I inquired how they were making out now. I was informed that these schoolchildren of yesterday have turned out to be good tillers of the soil, livestock farmers and machine operators and have found their vocation in this fine and noble work. They have formed youth collectives on farm and have learned new trades. Many are continuing their education. And by now their example is being followed by tens of thousands in different parts of our great Motherland.

The Party thanks the young men and women who have chosen to devote themselves to the grand programme of developing agriculture and it highly esteems their initiative. It sets youth a good example. I think it will continue to find many followers.

Tremendous significance attaches to the Komsomol's helping to carry out the Party decision on transforming agriculture in the non-black-earth zone of the Russian Federation. Keep it up, friends, and hold aloft the banner of the Leninist Komsomol on this youth priority project!

Springtime field work is at its height just now throughout the country. Allow me to wish youth in the countryside and everybody working on collective and state farms to do their job well, to wish them success and, the main thing, to gladden our hearts with a good harvest.

Speaking of agricultural problems, I wish to address myself to city youth too. The basis for good harvests and high productivity on livestock farms is nowadays laid in the city too. The end result of a

farmer's or stockbreeder's work depends in many ways on the city worker. This means that young people in cities can play an important part here. They would do well to launch an emulation movement for the prompt supply to farms of everything they need—machinery, fertilizers, building materials and equipment for stockbreeding, and also to help on rural building projects.

And there is yet another important task, comrades. As our economy grows and the wellbeing of Soviet people is rising, working in such fields as retail trade and the public services gains in significance. I have already had occasion to refer to the tremendous bearing they have on the mood and health of people and, consequently, on their good work. Everybody probably knows this from his own experience. Yet, as you surely know, it is precisely in these spheres that we still have many shortcomings, sometimes glaring ones. There are many reasons for this—material, organisational and moral. But one thing is clear: order must be established.

And I think the Komsomol should make trade and the public services the object of its constant and unflagging concern. Put them under your effective stewardship. Make a thorough study of the state of affairs, help with fresh people and by educating those already employed there and rallying public opinion, and with initiatives addressed to economic and administrative bodies. In my view this would be useful. So, friends, tackle the matter!

So, comrades, there is a lot to do, work enough for all. Perhaps some of you think that I am setting you too many tasks. But, after all, there are nearly 38 million of you Komsomol members. A tremendous force! You should be equal to any task.

And today the most urgent task is not only to fulfil but also to overfulfil this year's plan. This is exceedingly important for the fulfilment of the five-year plan as a whole. It is upon this that Party, government and economic bodies, trade union and Komsomol organisations and all working people must concentrate their efforts at the present time. Here very much depends on you, on youth. And we are sure you will not let us down!

II.

Dear comrades, in the final count the fulfilment of all our plans depends on people, on their knowledge, culture, and political awareness.

Our main compass along the road to communism is the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the laws of social development. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of a profound and systematic study of this revolutionary science; conscientious and thorough study, not mechanical learning by rote of particular truths and formulas. Knowledge of theory is of no value unless it becomes conviction and is

followed up by deeds. In other words, every young Leninist must be an active political fighter able to carry out the Party's policy in practice and irreconcilably to combat hostile ideology.

The Party and Komsomol devote great attention to the moral upbringing of youth. One cannot affirm the norms and principles of communist morality without waging a continuous hard struggle against anti-social behaviour and spiritual poverty, and its inevitable concomitants—drunkenness, hooliganism and breaches of labour discipline. Immorality, which is not always noticeable at first glance, presents no less a danger. Indifference, parasitism, cynicism and claims to take from society more than one gives to society—these moral flaws must not escape the view of the Komsomol and, for that matter, of our public as a whole.

Concern for raising the people's standard of living is the pivot of the Party's home policy. By this we mean both a higher material and higher cultural level of life. The one cannot be divorced from the other.

We reject both the cult of poverty and asceticism and the consumer cult, the mentality of the philistine for whom a kopeck, in Gorky's apt phrase, is the sun in his sky. For us material blessings are not an aim in itself, but a precondition for the all-round development of the personality. It is important, therefore, that our rising wellbeing should be accompanied by an enrichment of people's spiritual world and the cultivation of a correct understanding of the purpose and meaning of life.

The fact that Soviet people, including youth, of course, are highly educated and very well informed, sets much higher demands on the manner of educational work.

Manifestations of indifference and formalism are especially intolerable in this area. It is time all workers on the ideological front should end the mechanical and thoughtless repetition of axiomatic truths and the verbose gabbling that still survives here and there. It is time to make it a rule to talk to people in plain and comprehensible terms, and to put live thought and feeling into every phrase you write. This, too, is a question of quality and efficiency, moreover, in such an important sector of communist construction as the education of the new man.

The Party and Komsomol are bringing up the young citizens of our society to be loyal sons and daughters of the Soviet Motherland and firm fighters for the communist cause. These qualities are translated into the great deeds of millions of people, they multiply the power of our Motherland and raise the wellbeing of the people.

Recently, during my visit to the Urals, Siberia and the Far East, I was deeply gratified again to see for myself what splendid people and what magnificent youth we have in these wealthy but in many ways still severe regions. One might say that youth are making the climate there warmer with the warmth of their devoted hearts.

Especially memorable were the meetings with a group of young Baikal-Amur Railway builders at one of the stations and with young people in the city of Komsomolsk-on-Amur. They were splendid young men and women. They spoke of their life and work with responsibility and competence, and also with enthusiasm. Their eyes are set on the future. As I listened to them the lines of the well-known song came to mind: "We young masters of the earth are conquering space and time."

The magnificent qualities of Soviet people are also in evidence in the ranks of our glorious Armed Forces. Here young people get a real steeling. Here they not only learn organisation and discipline but also display a high degree of awareness, self-sacrifice and on occasions true heroism.

During my visit to the East I also acquainted myself with how our borders are being guarded and with those who are performing their far from easy duty there—the fine men of our Army, Navy and border troops. I can say one thing, comrades: the borders of our Motherland are dependably protected against all emergencies; its defence is in experienced and loyal hands. And I can assure you that the young people of the Soviet land guarding its peace and tranquillity have everything they need to perform their lofty mission.

Comrades, Soviet people who have grown up in a fraternal family of nations and have been reared on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are internationalists by their very nature. Internationalist traditions are embodied in their deeds today more broadly and diversely perhaps than ever before. And here, as in many other things, youth are to the fore.

Young people sent by the Leninist Komsomol are working in more than a hundred countries abroad. Thousands of our country's sons and daughters are doing noble work in the socialist countries of Europe and in distant Cuba, in the hot sands of the Sahara, in the jungles of South-East Asia, in India, the Arab East and other parts of the world—building factories and power stations, helping to develop natural resources, treating the sick and teaching children. Often enough their labour is a real, unassuming and unpublicised, disinterested and self-sacrificing feat. A feat for the sake of peace and progress, the fraternity and friendship of nations. A feat that adds to the prestige of our Motherland and helps people to understand the truth about our socialist system and the communist morality and ideals of Soviet people.

Let us, comrades, express our sincere thanks to these splendid representatives of our people. They are helping to carry out the peaceful Leninist policy of our Party and the Soviet state and they are daily displaying that internationalism in action which Vladimir Ilyich Lenin valued so highly.

Proletarian, socialist internationalism—this is our great strength. It is the fruit of our convictions and the fervour of our hearts. It is our banner. Be ever faithful to it, dear friends!

III.

Comrades, your fathers spent their youth in soldier's uniform at the front in the Great Patriotic War. This was truly, as the poet said, "a battle not for glory but for life upon the earth". Many years have passed since then. Today more than half the population of our country knows about the war, its hardships and suffering, only from the stories of their elders, from books and films. But in different conditions the fight for life on earth continues today, too. To secure lasting and stable peace—this is the aim of our foreign policy and of its fundamental principles, such as peaceful coexistence and detente.

Today detente is not just a theory or a slogan, nor wishful thinking. It has to its credit quite a few good, perfectly specific and tangible deeds. In Europe it has laid the groundwork for relations between states and embraced various fields in their life. For all the ups and downs in Soviet-American relations, these, too, have a new appearance, more favourable to peace. The policy of detente has been recognised and is supported by the peoples as the only sensible policy in our troubled times.

The most essential and urgent task today is to secure a further easing of the war danger and to check the arms build-up. All peoples are aware of this and most of the governments of the world recognise it. This is also borne out by the fact that, for the first time in history, a session of the UN General Assembly specially devoted to arms limitation and disarmament will open in a few weeks' time. We wish it success and we shall actively promote this.

We are in favour of general and complete disarmament. It is not our fault that the talks on this problem, now nearly twenty years old, are deadlocked. And yet agreements on arms limitation in certain fields have been concluded during this period. And talks are continuing on a number of questions.

The central goal of our struggle for peace in the present circumstances is to reduce the menace of another world war and of the mass extermination of people with nuclear weapons. For this purpose the Soviet Union has taken several major steps. One of these is the negotiations with the United States on the limitation of strategic offensive arms.

As you know, Moscow has just been visited by the US Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, who came on President Carter's instructions. There was a thorough exchange of opinions. As a result, some progress was made in working out an agreement on strategic arms limitation. By no means all problems have yet been resolved. We cannot accept at all certain positions of the American side. I believe, however, that through mutual efforts based on sensible and realistic compromise we can complete the drafting of an agreement that will justly take into account the security interests of both powers. This

will enable us substantially to bridle the arms race and will therefore also help to strengthen peace.

For several years now the Soviet Union has been pressing for an agreement on the general and complete banning of nuclear weapons tests. We are negotiating with the United States and Britain on banning tests in all media (that is to say, including underground tests). And we are gratified to note that definite progress has been made of late in these talks. We would like to hope that the work will be completed and an appropriate treaty will be signed in the near future. This will be a notable achievement in the struggle for peace and international security.

Along with other peace forces in the world, the Soviet Union is taking active steps to prevent the development of the neutron weapon, which is a new and particularly inhuman weapon of mass annihilation. Our stand on this issue is absolutely clear and radical: that the countries concerned should, before it is too late, conclude an agreement reciprocally renouncing manufacture of this weapon. And may mankind be delivered from it once and for all.

Unfortunately, the United States, which is poised to develop the neutron bomb, has not yet agreed to our proposal. But President Carter has recently declared that he has postponed a final decision on starting the manufacture of the neutron weapon. This, of course, does not settle the matter and is at best a half-measure. However, I can say that we have taken the President's statement into account and that we, too, will not start production of neutron weapons so long as the United States does not do so. Further developments will depend on Washington.

In line with its fundamental policy aimed at reducing the nuclear war danger, the Soviet Union has also decided to subscribe in due form to the international treaty banning nuclear weapons in Latin America. Thereby, we, like the other nuclear powers, will take a pledge not to help any Latin American state gain access to nuclear weapons, and not to use such weapons against the states party to the treaty.

So, as you see, comrades, the work for peace is continuing and our country is making ever new efforts to this end.

We intend that my forthcoming visit to the Federal Republic of Germany should also help not only to determine the prospects for further broad and mutually advantageous cooperation between our two countries (which is important in itself) but also contribute to consolidating detente and universal peace, especially in Europe.

Of late the opponents of detente and disarmament in the NATO countries—all those generals who dabble in politics and all those bellicose politicians—have been raising a propaganda howl and spreading lies about an allegedly threatening military superiority of the Warsaw Treaty states over the NATO bloc in Europe, about alleged Soviet aggressive intentions in Europe, and the like. All this is nonsense, needless to say. Not harmless but malicious nonsense,

however, because it serves to justify and camouflage actions that are truly dangerous and potentially aggressive: precipitating another round in the arms race, building up military forces and contaminating the international atmosphere with poisonous fumes of fear, suspicion and hostility.

More than any other country does the Soviet Union, which suffered the greatest ravages in the Second World War, want peace in Europe never to be violated again and Europe to be a continent of lasting peace and peaceful cooperation. And, perhaps, no other state has done more for this than our country.

For some years, at the talks in Vienna, we have been working for a considerable reduction of the armed forces of the West and East in Europe—without prejudice to the security of any side—but we have so far encountered only attempts by the West to change the balance of forces in its own favour. A few days ago in Vienna, it is true, the Western countries submitted slightly refurbished proposals. These take note of the standpoint of the socialist states in some respects, although the general impression of a one-sided approach clearly remains. Well, we intend to continue our work. We are prepared to do everything in our power to find mutually acceptable solutions and to relieve military tension in a region of the world where it is especially great and dangerous.

Everybody should know that, far from harbouring any aggressive designs and building up any "strike forces" in Europe for action against the West, the Soviet Union has always done and will continue to do everything it can to relieve tensions and to facilitate agreement. Unlike the NATO countries, we have not for a long time increased our armed forces in Central Europe, and we do not intend—I wish to stress this most emphatically—we do not intend to increase them by a single soldier, by a single tank.

And we call on the Western states to follow this good example.

Trying to distort the meaning and goals of Soviet foreign policy, imperialist propaganda maintains that there is a contradiction between our country's policy of detente and peaceful coexistence and our relations with countries that have thrown off the colonial yoke. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are being falsely accused of interfering in the affairs of young states. Our opponents go so far as to accuse us of an "expansionist policy" and "stoking up tension". All this, of course, is sheer fabrication with no basis in fact.

We want friendly cooperation with those countries on a basis of complete equality. We support their independence and their advance along the road of peace and social progress. The Soviet Union invariably advocates strict respect for the sovereignty of those—and all other—states, for non-interference in their internal affairs and for the inviolability of their frontiers.

It is the imperialist powers which are continuously interfering—openly or under slight camouflage—in the affairs of independent

newly-free states. They are interfering in order to obstruct their progressive development. They infringe on their sovereignty in order to secure the selfish interests of their own monopolies or the plans of their own military strategists.

As a rule, such interference leads to violence and encroachments on the rights of the peoples. This occurs either in the home life of the countries concerned as, say, in the case of Chile, or in the form of undisguised foreign aggression, as in the case of the brazen conduct of the Israeli rulers.

The facts show that the peoples of the young states are able to defend their independence and vital interests more successfully, the more solid their unity and solidarity and the more solid their friendship with the countries of the socialist world, on whose support they may rely in their just struggle.

One does not have to look far for examples of this, too. It was thanks to the solidarity of progressive forces that attempts by the imperialists and their puppets to overthrow the people's government in Angola and to dismember revolutionary Ethiopia were foiled.

Peace, non-interference in internal affairs, respect for independence and territorial integrity, equality and mutually beneficial cooperation—all these are the indispensable and the most important elements of detente and lasting peace. Such is our policy in Europe, and it is the same in Africa, Asia, Latin America and everywhere else in the world. And if anyone thinks that the Soviet Union can be diverted from this course by means of slander and threats, then he is deeply mistaken.

Comrades, analysing the world situation, we have arrived at the firm conviction that it is high time to give thought to putting a *complete stop to any further quantitative and qualitative growth in the armaments and armed forces of states with a large military potential*, and thereby to create conditions for their subsequent reduction. Specifically, we are calling for discussion of a programme of the following measures, to be put into effect within a definite time limit:

- to stop manufacturing nuclear weapons of all types;
- to stop manufacturing and to ban all other types of mass destruction weapons;
- to stop developing new types of highly destructive conventional arms;
- to renounce the expansion of the armies and the increase of the conventional armaments of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and countries associated with them under military agreements.

It is certainly not simple to agree on such matters. We could probably tackle one particular angle first—say, the stopping of nuclear arms manufacture, as we have already proposed. The main thing is that the problem as a whole is made easier to solve by the fact that

these steps would not upset the balance of forces now existing between states. Nobody would be the loser.

We must not, nor have we the right to forget that the nuclear peril is still hanging over the world and arousing the alarm of nations for their future. Joint efforts by all the nuclear powers are obviously needed to remove this peril. And each of them can and must do its bit. For its part, the Soviet Union declares unambiguously: we are against the use of nuclear weapons; only extraordinary circumstances, an act of aggression against our country or its allies by another nuclear power, could compel us to resort to this extreme means of self-defence. The Soviet Union is doing and will continue to do everything to prevent an atomic war, so that the nations should not fall victim to atomic strikes—neither a first strike nor subsequent ones. This is our firm line, and we shall act accordingly.

To preserve this Earth of ours and to hand it over to the rising generation with all its wealth and beauty unblemished by a nuclear holocaust—this, as we see it, is the goal to which the thoughts of humanity should be directed. The Soviet Union is doing everything in its power to maintain and consolidate peace. We trust that your future, dear young friends, will be the happiness of free labour on a peaceful planet.

* * *

Comrades, your Congress has met on the eve of a momentous date: this autumn the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League will celebrate its 60th anniversary. The whole country will, of course, celebrate this jubilee in a worthy manner. And we call on you to greet your festive day with great new achievements in your work.

The Komsomol is mature in years. But it is always young in spirit. The Leninist Komsomol is the Party's militant helper and dependable reserve. It is from the Party that you draw great and time-tested experience for all the activities of your League. And this is as it should be. After all, the Party and Komsomol have one goal—communism and their path is also one—the path of Lenin, the path of serving the people.

It is you who will pursue the great cause begun by your grandfathers and fathers to final victory. So be their worthy successors and hold high the banner of communism!

Glory to the Leninist Komsomol—vanguard of Soviet youth!
Glory to our country's rising generation!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin!

Long live the Soviet people, builders of communism!

REPLIES TO QUESTIONS PUT BY "VORWÄRTS", THE WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF WEST GERMANY

May 4, 1978

Q. In connection with your visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, would you care to assess the present state of relations between our countries and the prospects for their future development?

A. I believe that the relations between our countries are developing successfully in many directions. They have good future prospects in our view, provided, of course, they do not come up against artificially created obstacles.

In connection with your question, I cannot but recall the Treaty concluded by the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic in Moscow in August, 1970. The past was much too tragic for both of our peoples for the bold turn made in our relations at that time to be undervalued.

The Treaty became an event of major international importance. It laid one of the foundation stones of the edifice of detente. It provided an impetus for the positive development that had long been awaited. It was followed by a number of other agreements, including multilateral ones.

A lot of ground has been covered since then. The FRG has concluded important treaties with the Polish People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Relations between the USSR and the FRG have taken on a new quality. Cooperation has become the norm. Trust has been established in each other's words and in the signatures affixed to joint documents. Meetings take place between members of our governments, parliamentarians and political and public leaders, and there are numerous visits by delegations. Cultural exchange and tourism are being promoted. In short, considerable experience has been accumulated in developing contacts of different kinds.

Naturally, summit meetings have played and continue to play the determinative role in the establishment and strengthening of beneficial ties between the USSR and the FRG. Every such meeting

contributes something new and positive, and makes it possible to untie difficult knots and to adopt decisions signifying further progress. The great interest being shown in your country, and in other countries, too, in the forthcoming talks in Bonn with President Walter Scheel and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is not surprising, therefore. It will also be a pleasure for me to meet Chairman Willy Brandt, with whom the start was made in clearing the way leading to good relations between our two countries.

Relations with the FRG constitute a part of the Soviet Union's multiform, world-wide ties, but they are a very important part. After all, in European affairs, and in the wider context, a great deal depends on the positions of our two countries and their mutual understanding. The state of relations between the FRG and the USSR is a sensitive barometer of international detente, of peaceful coexistence, not only in Europe, but also further afield.

I would like to underline once again that our course of striving for good-neighbourly and mutually beneficial relations with the Federal Republic is a long-term policy of principle of our Party and state.

Can it be said that no problems, no difficulties exist in the relations between the USSR and the FRG? Of course not. There are problems, problems of different kinds.

There is the objective side of the matter, above all the very fact that we live in states with different social systems. Many complications stem from this in various fields of contact. But we have to learn to live in peace and to cooperate, because there is no rational alternative to the peaceful coexistence of states.

But there are difficulties and obstacles of a different nature, too. They are due to the calculated activities of forces which have an aggressive attitude towards socialism and which look back longingly to the period of the cold war. It is these forces which, under various invented pretexts, systematically organise anti-Soviet campaigns, stir up trouble, try to interfere in our internal affairs, and seek to accelerate the arms build-up. The actions of these forces, which are quite influential in the FRG, hinder the smooth development of relations between our two countries and reduce the possibilities of our cooperation in world affairs.

We are convinced that in these times any problems of inter-state relations can be resolved if they are approached calmly and reasonably, and with the desire to understand one's partner, and to avoid stirring up passions and aggravating differences. Given good will on both sides, it is possible to view the future with optimism.

Q. Some people in the FRG express the view that business ties with the USSR have already "reached the ceiling". What is your opinion in this regard?

A. I don't believe this to be the case. Take the figures characterising the growth of trade between the USSR and the FRG. They look quite impressive. Trade turnover in 1977 was 2.5 times what it was

in 1973, and 5.5 times what it was in 1970. The FRG holds first place in our trade with capitalist states. We have many mutually advantageous agreements. A good example is the contract for the delivery to the FRG of Soviet natural gas in exchange for pipes. It is important not only by virtue of its scale, but also because of its long-term nature—up to the year 2000. This symbolises, as it were, a mutual desire for stability and permanence in the economic relations of our two countries.

West German companies are participating in the building in our country of the world's biggest electro-metallurgical complex, in Oskol, and in the construction of Sheremetyevo Airport. Recently I was in the area of the Baikal-Amur Railway, which is truly the "construction project of the century". Trucks bought in the FRG are doing good work there. Many of your citizens have taken a liking to the Lada car put out by the Volga automobile plant. Such examples could be multiplied.

However, we cannot in all honesty say that we are fully satisfied with the state of our economic ties with your country. In the relations between FRG firms and our organisations things do not always and in every respect turn out as we would both like them to. We know this, and, for our part, we try to take appropriate, timely measures. We are counting on the Federal Republic also making its contribution to overcoming the difficulties that arise. For instance, we expect that the restrictions on the import of Soviet goods will be lifted, at last, and that more favourable customs conditions will be created.

I have had occasion to remark before that the economics of our two countries can in some respects complement each other. The widening international division of labour opens up great possibilities before all countries. There are tremendous reserves in it, too, for a continuous growth of our economic ties in the interests of both sides. Besides, we do not, after all, have to limit ourselves to the forms of economic ties which have taken shape, but can explore new forms, and show enterprise, based, naturally, on businesslike calculations and the principle of mutual benefit.

Soviet exports to the FRG amount to 0.09 per cent of the USSR's total production, whereas West German exports to the USSR are estimated to amount to 0.6 per cent of the gross national product of the FRG. That is why it is impossible to agree that "the ceiling has been reached" in business ties between our countries.

Q. What opportunities do you see for taking concrete steps towards further detente in Europe?

A. Further detente in Europe largely depends on how matters will proceed in resolving urgent questions of detente in the military field. It can even be said that we have reached the point where the process of political detente should merge with the process of military detente. That is why the most important thing now is to take practical steps to restrain the arms race, to curb this race.

As everyone knows, the Soviet Union has set forth a whole programme of measures for military detente. They include the pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, non-expansion of existing military groupings, and limitation of the number of troops taking part in manoeuvres.

Naturally, the political aspect of the matter must also not be forgotten for a single moment. The climate in Europe favouring military detente is being shaped on the basis of a comprehensive development of relations among states, a strengthening of trust among their leaders, respect for treaties that have been concluded, and consistent fulfilment of the agreements reached at the conference in Helsinki.

Many people in the West favour our suggestions for holding all-European congresses on cooperation in environmental protection, transport and energy. It would seem that it is possible to get down to business, but unfortunately even here our Western partners are slow to respond and inconsistent.

And there is another point. We also do not want West Berlin to remain a blank spot on the map of European detente. We have often come up against attempts to circumvent the quadripartite agreement. There have been actions which show a real unwillingness to accept the fact that the city is not a part of the FRG. This all contradicts the spirit of detente and complicates the international situation. We cannot appraise this matter in any other way.

Thus, there are many factors determining the destiny of detente. One would like to hope that only those which facilitate its consolidation would come into play.

Q. There are apprehensions—and not only in the FRG—that the Soviet Union is building up its military strength qualitatively and quantitatively, systematically and consistently, to an extent surpassing defence requirements. Don't you also believe that detente calls for agreements in the military field as well—on the basis of parity?

A. To begin with, let me point out one main thing: the apprehensions you allude to are totally groundless. A Soviet military threat with regard to Europe or to any other part of the globe does not exist and cannot exist.

Let us first look at the purely factual aspect of the question.

With regard to Europe. In the press of Western countries and in the comments of certain Western political and military leaders, one frequently comes across the allegation that the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty member-countries have attained "military superiority" on the European continent over the NATO countries and continue to build up their armed forces there.

This, to put it mildly, is a tendentious and misleading allegation.

Let me start by saying that for a number of years now the Soviet Union has not been building up and increasing its armed forces in Central Europe, that is, in that area about which talks are now proceeding in Vienna. Furthermore, in these talks we and our

allies keep proposing to the Western side that the two sides commit themselves directly not to increase their armed forces and arms in Central Europe for the entire period in which the Vienna talks are under way. Regrettably, the Western countries have not so far accepted our proposal, while the practical steps they have taken are in the opposite direction.

As regards "superiority", at those same talks in Vienna, the sides have exchanged official statistics clearly showing that no "superiority" or "disproportion" exists at all. The West and the Warsaw Treaty countries have an approximately equal number of troops in Central Europe, a little over 980,000 men on each side.

Naturally, this parity is not full equality. Each side has its own structure of armed forces. We, let us say, are superior in land force missiles, whereas the NATO bloc is superior in air force missiles with nuclear warheads, and so on.

Furthermore, Western military and political leaders frequently claim that the West has what is in their opinion a qualitative superiority in arms. One may well ask: where, then, is the logic in the assertions of those same circles concerning the imaginary "threat from the East"?

By and large, in Europe, where the main forces of the two military-political groupings confront each other at close range, a military equilibrium undeniably does exist. The question is whether it is necessary to maintain this equilibrium at such a high level as at present, whether this level can be lowered without upsetting the balance in anyone's favour. We in the Soviet Union are firmly convinced that it can and should be lowered.

As regards the global correlation of forces between the biggest participating powers in these two military-political groupings, that is, the Soviet Union and the United States, here, as is officially acknowledged by both sides, a rough parity, that is, a balance of strategic forces, has taken shape and is maintained. It is precisely this parity which lies at the basis of the Soviet-US agreement on strategic offensive arms limitation, concluded in 1972, and also at the basis of the agreement now being drawn up.

I can add that the overall numerical strength of Soviet armed forces also does not spell any "military threat" to the West at all, though it is enough, if necessary, to deliver a retaliatory blow at the aggressor, no matter where he may be, in the West or in the East. Incidentally, this is well understood and admitted by unbiased observers, including those of the US press.

And now about our Navy. First of all, I will recall a simple fact, namely, that the Soviet Union has more than 40,000 kilometres of sea borders. With the NATO countries having strong offensive means on the high seas, we are obliged to think about corresponding defence in this sphere, too. We have built an ocean-going fleet of our own which can carry out tasks of such defence. The potential of this fleet does not exceed that of the fleet of the Western countries,

but, from the standpoint of structure, it is of a purely defensive nature. For instance, it is not accidental that we do not have and are not building strike aircraft-carriers.

Another favourite subject of those who like to talk about a "Soviet military threat" is the civil defence measures taken in the USSR. It may seem incredible, but it is a fact that even these measures, which are aimed at ensuring the safety of the peaceful population in the event of war, are interpreted by the experts in anti-Soviet slander as a sign of "aggressiveness": the USSR, you see, is getting ready for the "first strike", hoping to take cover in shelters from a retaliatory one.

One must truly have a pathologically distorted imagination to turn everything upside down in this way! Can any normal person really believe such concoctions?

We do not want war and we are not preparing for a war, but the Soviet people know from their own bitter experience what immense losses among the population can be caused by an aggressor's actions. We have heard too often talk by the other side about its readiness to deliver "strong, destructive, pre-emptive strikes" and so on, not to take any measures for defence. Only shameless slanderers can regard this as preparation for an attack against anyone you wish.

Alien to us is the callous quantitative approach to the prospects of a nuclear war, an approach which is popular in some other countries where a certain percentage of losses among the civilian population is declared "acceptable". We are not heartened at all by predictions, which can be heard in the West, that "only ten per cent" of the planet's population will perish in a world nuclear war and that this, you see, will not be so dreadful, it will not be the end of the world. We do not wish anyone, not a single person, to fall among those "ten per cent".

As for the Soviet Union, I repeat, it is not thinking of "making a first strike". On the contrary, everyone knows very well our official proposal to all the participants in the all-European conference, including the United States, that an agreement be concluded on not being the first to use nuclear weapons against each other. It is also common knowledge that the NATO countries reject this proposal, making it rather transparently clear that they are reluctant to give up their plans of delivering the first strike against our country. Who then is threatening whom?

Such is the factual aspect of the matter.

Now let us look at its political aspect.

The Soviet Union is indeed a powerful state; it is powerful in a political, economic and military sense. But the Soviet Union is a peaceful state. Its peaceableness stems from the very nature of our society, where the supreme goal, proclaimed by the laws and decisions of the highest political bodies, is to work for the steady growth of the material wellbeing and cultural standards of the people. There

is not a single task which we intend to accomplish by military means. There is not a single state to which we would lay territorial or any other claims, fraught with the danger of a military clash. Furthermore, the Soviet people, including the Soviet leaders, know very well and remember from their own experience what war is like in our times. Those inhabitants of the Federal Republic of Germany who belong to the older generation also have an idea of what war is like, and possibly they would understand much better than, say, the inhabitants of the United States, the Soviet people's fervent desire to live in peace.

The main "argument" in the discussion in the West about the notorious "Soviet military threat" consists in ascribing to the Soviet Union some kind of sinister intentions arising from its military potential. Talk about the number of hours it will take the Soviet Army to reach the English Channel is an example of this kind of word-juggling.

But the Soviet Union has no intention of attacking any state either in the West, East, North or South. The Soviet Union is not at all getting ready to "conquer" Western Europe. And our General Staff is not working on the timetable of any "plan to reach the English Channel". The framework of Soviet military development is determined by the country's defence needs. And in assessing the defence needs of the USSR, it is also necessary to remember the geographic position of our country. The real Soviet intentions are clearly outlined in official Party and state documents. They can also be judged by the whole moral and political atmosphere in which the Soviet people live and are educated. Propaganda of militarisation, calls for preparations for war, and the whipping up of distrust and animosity towards other nations are all alien to this atmosphere.

The history of the Soviet state provides many examples of its peaceableness. It clearly shows the real causes and sources of military danger. It shows why we have to devote serious attention to questions of national defence. When, in the early days following the October Revolution, our state urged all the belligerent powers to conclude a peace treaty, the Western countries responded with joint hostile intervention. When, from the high international tribune, the USSR came out in the thirties for ensuring European collective security, the response was the Munich agreement and the Hitler aggression that followed it. When, after the defeat of the aggressor, the Soviet Union began rebuilding its war-ravaged economy, the West launched a "cold war" against us and began blackmailing us with atomic weapons, evidently in the belief that the USSR, weakened by the war, would bow to diktat from outside. And when in our times the Soviet Union advances concrete, realistic and far-reaching proposals for curbing the arms race and for disarmament, neutron weapons are brandished in response.

By the way, anyone who is familiar with post-war history will recall that the arms race developed according to the "action-counter-action" pattern: when the West issued a challenge, the Soviet Union had to accept the challenge. This was the case throughout, from the first atomic bomb down to our time. And the start of each new round in the arms race was invariably accompanied by a fresh outcry of a "Soviet threat".

There is one more thing I would like the esteemed readers of your paper to recall. It was not we, but the United States, that set up dozens of military bases, with bombers and submarines with nuclear and other long-range weapons, bases which stretched out in an ominous chain along the borders of the USSR and our allies in the South, North, West and East. I would like to suggest to those who today are sowing groundless fears and hysteria in connection with the Soviet Union's understandable defence undertakings, and also to those who believe these sowers of panic, at least for a short time to put themselves mentally in the place of the Soviet people. After all, our country has been encircled by these bases for several decades. It would be interesting to know what these nervous gentlemen would say in such a situation.

Soviet people, however, have strong nerves. They have never panicked and will never panic; they take the necessary steps to defend the country against a rising danger and work persistently and consistently for a lasting peace, for a lowering of the level of military confrontation, first of all, in Europe.

Frankly, it seems to me that those who today are fanning the artificial campaign in the West about a "Soviet military threat" are really thinking of something else. They do not want to reconcile themselves to the rough equilibrium which has taken shape in the balance of military forces of the sides, and want to achieve superiority. This is dangerous, because such an approach will prompt a fresh unbridled race in arms production and is fraught with the danger of military gambles. But these people must, at last, realise one thing, namely: to any military challenge the Soviet Union has always found, and, you can be sure of it, will find in the future the proper reply.

As for the Soviet Union, it considers that approximate equilibrium and parity are enough for defence needs. We do not set ourselves the goal of gaining military superiority. We also know that this very concept loses its meaning with the present enormous stockpiles of nuclear weapons and systems for their delivery.

The Soviet Union is firmly opposed to an "equilibrium of fear". We stand for equilibrium of trust. That is why we have so persistently proposed that detente be deepened and the level of international cooperation be raised and its content enriched, and that there be a persevering search for an effective way, first, of ending the arms race and later, of achieving disarmament.

We are ready at any moment to sign an agreement in Vienna on a reduction of the armed forces and arms of the sides in Central Europe by 5, 10, 20, and, if you like, by 50 per cent. But let us do this honestly, so as not to upset the existing correlation of forces, and so that there will be no gain for one side and no loss for the other. Let us carry out such steps which are realistic and acceptable to both sides right now, and not try to use the talks for gaining unilateral military advantages.

This is my answer to your question.

Q. What do you personally expect from your visit, recalling also your first visit in 1973?

A. I recall with satisfaction my first visit to the Federal Republic, the meetings and talks with your political leaders and representatives of the parties, trade unions and business circles.

I hope that on this occasion these favourable impressions will be strengthened still further and, what is the main thing, that it will be possible to do something useful and necessary for both of our peoples, and for the cause of peace.

In conclusion, may I extend cordial greetings to the readers of your paper and express my good wishes to them and to all citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany.

SPEECH AT THE DINNER IN AUGUSTUSBURG CASTLE GIVEN BY PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY SCHEEL

Bonn, May 4, 1978

Esteemed Mr. Federal President,
Esteemed Mr. Federal Chancellor,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Comrades,

I would like to sincerely thank our hosts for the invitation to visit the Federal Republic of Germany, for the cordiality with which we are received here, for the warm words you have spoken, Mr. President.

It is pleasant to meet again state and political leaders, members of parliament and businessmen of your country. Especially those with whom eight years ago we undertook the difficult job of achieving a sharp turn in the relations between our countries towards mutual understanding and good-neighbourliness.

The Moscow Treaty, mentioned here by Mr. Scheel, was truly an outstanding event. It made the Soviet Union and the FRG and also all the peoples of Europe richer, richer in their faith in the preservation of peace at the present time and the attainability of peace in the future.

The results of our bilateral cooperation during the past years have been both weighty and tangible. They can be seen in the developed political contacts, in the extensive economic ties that are steadily growing in scope, in the growing contacts between people.

I do not want to imply that the time has come to fold one's hands and admire these accomplishments. There was a time when history did not skimp in preparing problems for us to inherit. Later, they were multiplied and deepened by the policy of cold war which, fortunately, has in the main receded into the past.

But now, too, there are enough things to worry about. Problems still arise today. Perhaps, of another type, but nevertheless they arise. And not every one of them has a patent medicine within easy reach or a ready article in our agreements. But it is necessary to

keep going forward. Our memory of what has been and responsibility for what will be obliges us to do so. It is from this viewpoint that I approach our meetings, those which have taken place already or which are still to take place. I believe that our partners are similarly minded.

It is said that man can get used to almost anything. In war time he gets used to danger, in good times to wellbeing and, when he is not ill, even to good health. Peace has reigned in Europe for more than thirty years now. This has never happened before. And people have begun to grow accustomed to peace, as though it is something to be taken for granted, as though detente had not undergone many trials.

The fact that peace has now become a part of the fabric of daily life is the best reward for all those who spared no effort in working to achieve detente. But at the same time I must issue a warning: it would be most dangerous to become complacent, to let events develop by themselves. I have already said and I repeat again with the full force of conviction: it is necessary to struggle for peace, detente should be consistently deepened and made irreversible. In this question there should be no detached onlookers, or non-participants. It concerns all equally.

Peace will truly become firm when it becomes the main goal and criterion of the policy of all states, when not fear of a neighbour but a conscious striving to honestly cooperate with one another, to reach agreement without detriment to anybody's security will determine the approach of governments to problems that arise. Fear is a poor adviser and suspicion does not serve peace.

We know well that in the FRG, just as in other Western countries, millions of people, including many prominent statesmen and politicians, sincerely want lasting peace and good cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

But we also know that in the West in general, and in your country as well, there are opponents of detente. Some of them believe that apprehension about and animosity towards the Soviet Union and other socialist countries should be constantly present in the policy of their states, even if this increases the risk of a new war. Others, perhaps, are simply deluded, accepting at face value the words of those who ascribe to the Soviet Union evil intentions that are alien to it.

The most impassable mire is the mire of prejudice. The most difficult barrier is the barrier of mistrust. Should we hurdle it, mankind will acquire unprecedented strength and means for the establishment of a peace more reliable than ever before in the past.

Mistrust nourishes such a monstrous creation of present-day international life as the race for the manufacture of means for the mass annihilation of people. By its nature this race is senseless. It is impossible to win this race. But it is easy to bring about mankind's destruction. It is time to stop.

So let us stop. Let us no longer pile up armaments. Let us embark on real steps to reduce armed forces and armaments both on a world scale and in Europe, in particular in Central Europe. Let us reach agreement on the renunciation of the production and deployment of new systems of weapons of mass annihilation. By way of binding mutual agreement let us preclude the neutron weapon, which, like the ominous gifts of the Greeks, it is intended to present to the peoples of our continent.

The Soviet Union has just advanced a series of proposals on the full ending of the further quantitative and qualitative growth of the armaments and armed forces of states possessing a big military potential. We are convinced that no task is more ripe and urgent now than that of blocking all channels of the arms race, both nuclear and conventional. We call on all states, on all people of peace and goodwill, including, of course, our esteemed partners and friends in the Federal Republic of Germany, to cooperate in the solution of this task.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen,

Judging by our first conversations in Bonn it can be said, I believe, with a justified sense of optimism that the meetings of the leaders of our two countries will serve in good stead our people and the cause of strengthening peace. We are sure that they will open additional spheres of joint effort, will put into circulation new, as yet untapped reserves and possibilities.

Our country is vast. It spreads over two continents. It is populated by dozens of nations and nationalities forming a single, close-knit family. We are a peaceful, industrious people, lavishly endowed with talent and kind hearts. We do not covet what belongs to others. Our aims are worthy ones. We are ready to live in peace and accord with all peoples, including your people.

Allow me on this May day of spring to wish the citizens of your country wellbeing and prosperity!

Allow me to propose a toast to the spirit of mutual respect and good-neighbourliness between our two countries!

To the health of Mr. Federal President and Mrs. Scheel!

To the health of Mr. Federal Chancellor and Mrs. Schmidt!

To the health of all those present here!

**SPEECH AT THE BREAKFAST GIVEN IN THE
GOVERNMENT RECEPTION HOUSE
"REDOUTE" IN HONOUR OF THE FRG
PRESIDENT WALTER SCHEEL AND THE
FEDERAL CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT**

May 5, 1978

Esteemed Mr. Federal President,
Esteemed Mr. Federal Chancellor,
Ladies and gentlemen,

It affords me pleasure to warmly welcome as our guests leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany, leaders of political parties, prominent representatives of the trade unions, business circles, and journalists, and all who have accepted our invitation.

This is the second day of our visit to the Federal Republic. As on the first day, it is fully taken up with intensive work. Everything that both sides have considered to be of vital importance in their joint affairs and in the sphere of world politics they have brought up for discussion—moreover, not dodging acute issues. After all, realism is the only reliable basis for constructive work. And we—I think I can say this for both sides—want to build the edifice of our relations so that it will stand not on sand, but on firm ground.

Preparing for the journey here, I asked myself more than once what the recent years had yielded in the relations between our countries, and to what extent the changes arrived at are tangible ones.

The great thinker and founder of scientific socialism, Karl Marx, who was born 160 years ago today, once said that every actual step of movement was more important than a dozen programmes. How much truth there is in these words! Nothing can take the place of concrete deeds, and it is deeds that speak in any given instance with an expressive tongue.

I think that the nineteen-seventies have convincingly demonstrated how much that is new and unquestionably useful has accompanied the normalisation of relations between our countries. Useful both for each of us, and for the world situation generally.

Take for a start the material foundation—economic ties. There has been big progress here. After all, we had to begin, if not from nothing, then from a pretty low level, clearly inadequate for two countries such as ours. And now the results can already be felt. It is enough to recall that in the last four years, the USSR has delivered to the FRG more than 27 million tons of oil and oil products, chemical products to the value of 100 million roubles, 2,000,000 cubic metres of saw timber, 120,000 tons of cotton, and much else. Deliveries of Soviet natural gas are increasing each year, and by the year 2000 they will add up to about 200,000 million cubic metres.

In the same four-year period we have imported from the FRG plant and machinery alone to a total value of more than 3,500 million roubles.

West German equipment and technology are already becoming a familiar part of a number of our major national economic construction projects and industrial undertakings. Well, these orders, and the raw materials and fuel from the Soviet Union, help your plants and factories to work to greater capacity, which, as I understand it, is quite important in conditions of large-scale unemployment.

And take cultural exchange. It undoubtedly plays a no small role in the creation of an atmosphere of greater understanding between peoples, between ordinary people taken as a whole. In this area, too, significant progress may be noted.

A few days ago I asked for details of our cultural exchanges. And what do you think? Just the mere enumeration of the measures carried out on a reciprocal basis over the four years fills five closely-typed pages. On them are listed exchanges both of fine arts exhibitions and of performances by numerous ensembles and collectives, the staging of plays and shows with the participation of well-known directors and artists, concert tours by leading singers and musicians, and various meetings of people working in the creative intellectual field.

If we consider international aspects, then the changes for the better are probably even greater. The improvement in the FRG's relations with its immediate or close neighbours—the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other European socialist states—is undoubtedly to the benefit of all sides. There must certainly be many in the Federal Republic who have come to be aware of this. Convincing testimony as to the successful development of these relations is afforded too, in particular, by the results of the recent visits to the FRG of Edward Gierek and Gustav Husak.

The entry of the FRG and GDR into the United Nations Organisation is an important element in the normalisation of the general world situation.

Finally, the fundamental turn in the relations between our two countries, together, I should say, with the experience of Soviet-French cooperation, served as the starting-point for the movement toward such a notable landmark in the history of international relations as the All-European conference in Helsinki, participated in also by the USA and Canada.

It is to be hoped that our present talks and meetings will make a noticeable impression on the work of improving and broadening relations between the USSR and the FRG, and help to ensure a more healthy European and world climate. At any rate, this is our aim. And I should like to add that the success of our joint work in this direction will carry all the more weight and be all the more secure, the more the populations of our countries are imbued with the understanding that the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union and the FRG are inseparably connected with the ensurance of peace, with the understanding that the citizens of our countries must never again look at each other through the apertures of gun-sights, and that the only future for Europe is the road of peaceful cooperation. Should we succeed in bringing about such a fundamental change in the consciousness of people, then nothing and nobody will be able to push us off this road.

Truthful and well-intentioned information about each other is important, therefore. It is important to educate people, above all the youth, in a spirit of respect for other peoples, for them to be freed from the ideas and notions which act like a lead weight, dragging backwards into the past. This is where an immense responsibility lies on the mass media, and on the schools and universities.

Of course, ideological differences, the counterposing of world outlooks will continue. But we are opposed to making ideology a servant of military staffs, and to turning the ideological struggle into psychological warfare. Peaceful, honest competition of ideas and of social practice—this is what we stand for. People should not settle their relations, including ideological questions, on the field of battle. Neither for you nor for us is there any need for a competition as to which of us can be portrayed the blacker. Once we orient ourselves on cooperation and trust, then it would be good to try our best to act accordingly.

In concluding this address I want to express my sincere thanks to Mr. Federal President and Mr. Federal Chancellor for the attention and hospitality with which we have been greeted in the Federal Republic. Already now it is possible to say that the visit is proving useful, substantive and necessary.

For our part, I should like to extend to you, Mr. Federal President, and to you, Mr. Federal Chancellor, an invitation to pay an official visit to our country. We shall be glad to receive you, and to continue our contacts with you in the interests of a further deep-

ening of relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.

May I propose a toast to close understanding and fruitful cooperation between the USSR and the FRG!

To the health of Mr. Federal President and Mrs. Scheel!

To the health of Mr. Federal Chancellor and Mrs. Schmidt!

To the health of all present!

SPEECH ON THE TELEVISION OF THE FRG

May 6, 1978

Good evening, dear viewers,

It is with great pleasure that I have accepted the offer to have a talk with you today. My second visit to your country is drawing to an end. We are fully satisfied with its results. Our talks with President Walter Scheel, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Vice-Chancellor Genscher, and meetings with Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, other state and political figures of the FRG, were highly necessary and useful.

In going to Bonn this time we regarded it as our task, on the basis of the Moscow Treaty of 1970, to determine jointly with the leaders of the FRG for years to come the main directions of further cooperation between our two countries in bilateral matters, as well as to map out ways for cooperation in strengthening peace and international detente. To my mind, much has been achieved in this direction during our visit. There is ground to hope that its results will impart greater stability and greater scope to the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union.

At present, we are at a very responsible stage in the development of world events. The Soviet Union and the FRG are capable of doing much to remove the difficulties which the process of detente has encountered in its development. It depends on our countries in many respects whether or not the positive processes that began in international relations in the early seventies shall be strengthened and deepened.

It is no secret that today these processes have somewhat slowed down. I shall not refer to all the causes, there are a good many. But the main one is that the monstrous arms race has not been curbed so far. This is a very alarming fact. For such a race cannot go on endlessly. It inexorably undermines the edifice of political detente. If not stopped, the arms race may put in jeopardy the very future of mankind.

Our country, the Soviet Union, therefore regards as its major goal in international affairs the prevention of mankind from sliding

towards war, the safeguarding and consolidation of a universal, just and lasting peace. This is our unshakeable course. It does not depend on any transient factors. It has been confirmed in the Constitution of the Soviet Union. We undeviatingly translate this course into life by every possible means. The efforts of Soviet diplomacy are subordinated to it. It is supported by every level of public opinion in our country. All our plans are drawn up on the basis of a peaceful future.

More and more people, including citizens of the FRG, visit the Soviet Union every year. And everyone who, without prejudice, becomes acquainted with our life is sure to confirm that the whole atmosphere in our country reflects the people's complete dedication to peace, their desire to live in friendship with all the peoples.

When we say that we, the Soviet people, need peace, we express our heartfelt desire. I do a good deal of travelling around the country. Recently, for example, I again visited Siberia and the Far East: I covered thousands and thousands of kilometres and met many people. And no matter what we discussed international problems were invariably brought up. And, in the end, the crucial question always was: will it be possible to safeguard and strengthen peace?

In our country, the Soviet Union, there are no classes, social strata or professional groups that would be interested in war or in preparations for it, that would expect to profit out of it. We have, of course, military factories and an army—but neither the directors of the factories, the commanders of the army, nor the workers and soldiers associate their wellbeing with war, with military contracts. We would like very much—to the tremendous benefit of our whole society—to switch the military factories over to the production of peaceful commodities, to peaceful constructive purposes.

Our country is quite often compared to a huge construction site. And this is a fact, not just an expressive description. We are doing a great deal of building and not simply building but, one can say, transforming the face of our country.

You have probably heard, for example, about the Baikal-Amur Railway. This is a railway more than 3,000 kilometres long. It is being laid on permanently frozen ground across the untrodden primeval taiga and through mountains. This project will not only considerably shorten the way to the Pacific Ocean, but also help to develop a territory equalling that of several large states. And the whole thing has to be done practically from scratch.

Or take the development of the Tyumen oil deposits in Western Siberia. We started this immense undertaking less than 15 years ago. And today one out of every two tons of Soviet oil is produced there. There, on the Ob River, we are busy developing a region covering an area of approximately a million square kilometres.

Or, finally, the projects designed to genuinely revive our Russian Non-Black-Earth region. They are to transform our ancient Russian heartland. Just imagine: We have decided to practically create

anew a highly-productive agriculture on an area equalling approximately that of France. All work, including the drainage and irrigation of vast areas, will end, in the main, only by 1990. But already by 1980 those lands should yield one-sixth of the entire agricultural produce of the Soviet Union.

Our undertakings and plans are calculated for decades ahead. We are elaborating not one or two, but tens of projects, the scope of each of which surpasses the plans of some states. And each of them has as its final aim the raising of the wellbeing of millions of people, of our entire nation.

In the social sphere too, we handle increasingly large-scale and labour-consuming tasks. I shall give this example: we have affirmed the right to housing for the first time in our new Constitution. Such a right cannot be merely declared. Tremendous efforts are being made to guarantee it. Every year eleven million people in our country move to new apartments. Rent rates in state-built houses are extremely low in our country. They were fixed fifty years ago, and have not been raised since. All this means that the society and the state assume an increasingly larger share of expenditure for housing. Or take another example. We have a free and, probably, the world's most extensive, medical service, that is provided to the entire population. One-third of all physicians working in the world are Soviet physicians. But in order to guarantee as effectively as possible our citizens' constitutional right to health care, further big capital investments, social measures and scientific research are necessary. There is a multitude of such examples.

All these are not very easy tasks. We have a lot of complex problems and a lot of shortcomings, but we are resolving these problems with the help of the increasing activity and initiative of millions of citizens. And we shall definitely solve them, provided a new world war is prevented, and a lasting peace is ensured on the reliable basis of peaceful coexistence. In the light of this it is not difficult to realise that the peaceful character of our policy is not a pose, which we put on for effect, but the very essence of our life. This guarantees the steadfastness and stability of the USSR's international policy the aims of which, I think, are clear, understandable and of concern to everyone: peace, disarmament and the security of the peoples.

It is to these goals that the important concrete proposals, which the Soviet Union advances in the international arena, are subordinated. We are seeking initially to at least curb the growth of armaments and armed forces of states with a large military potential. This is the meaning of the initiatives we have advanced lately.

Esteemed citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany!

The beginning of May is a special time for our countries, for our peoples. Every year at this time we mark the ending of the battles of the Second World War on European soil. Of course, we observe this in different ways, with feelings that differ to a great

extent. This is understandable. But besides this difference in feelings there exists also something that is common—it is, in my view, much more substantial and much more important in our time. In the past war our people sustained tremendous, irretrievable losses. And although nowadays new generations have grown up, and although today possibly every second inhabitant of the USSR and the FRG knows about war only from books—the past compels us to draw a lesson from recent history, to strengthen the desire to live in peace and to prevent a new tragedy.

I believe it is time for responsible politicians of all states without exception to say to one another and to their peoples: there should be no war! It is time to say and do everything to wipe it off the face of the earth. But time is pressing: each lost day, each delay, each procrastination may cost mankind, all of us too dearly.

This thought, esteemed viewers, guided us during the talks in Bonn. The documents which were adopted here are of great importance.

Thus, the Joint Declaration which we signed together with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt expresses the determination of the sides to develop political cooperation between the FRG and the USSR on a firm and permanent basis. This applies to both bilateral matters and big international problems such as, first of all, peaceful coexistence, detente and the curbing of the arms race. An agreement was also signed which envisages the widescale development of economic contacts for quite a long time ahead—up to the end of the current millennium. A solid material foundation is being laid for peaceful cooperation between our two countries.

These are good results. From our point of view, now the task is for the accords reached to be embodied in real deeds, in real joint efforts in the international arena. Let us advance, in a worthy manner, the historic cause started by the signing of the Moscow Treaty of 1970. Let us develop and enrich the good traditions of cooperation in the name of the interests of the peoples of our two countries, in the name of further strengthening peace and developing fruitful cooperation in Europe and throughout the world!

In conclusion allow me, from the bottom of my heart, to thank our hospitable hosts—Federal President Walter Scheel, Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, all those whom we met and with whom we held talks, all of you, people of the FRG, for your warm welcome and cordial hospitality.

Best wishes to you and good night!

SPEECHES IN THE KREMLIN AT A SESSION OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR

May 16, 1978

On the Conclusion of the Work of Preparing and Adopting the New Constitutions of the Union Republics

Comrades, an event of great historic importance has taken place in the life of our country: the adoption of new Constitutions of the Union republics.

These Constitutions are an embodiment of the rich experience gained in building up the Soviet state, of the further development of socialist democracy and of the great strength of the inviolable union of the Soviet people.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has summed up the results of the work done in connection with the adoption of the new Constitutions of the union republics. A report on this will be presented by Vasili Vasilyevich Kuznetsov.

Permit me to say a few words about these new Constitutions of the union republics.

It may be said that the goal set by the Party in submitting the drafts of these Constitutions to nationwide discussion has been achieved. The participation of millions of Soviet people in a matter as important as this has made it possible to define the fundamental laws more fully and more precisely, to enrich them with the experience of our peoples and to take account of the specific features of each individual republic.

In this connection I would like to draw your attention to some very important circumstances.

First. As in the course of the discussion of the draft Constitution of the USSR, Soviet people again gave prominence to points concerning the responsibility of every citizen for the work he does and for his contribution to the common cause. Soviet people everywhere

have shown themselves to be very demanding of themselves and of others; they refuse to condone shortcomings, they take these shortcomings close to heart, they feel keenly for the work in hand, as do people for whom the future of the country is inseparable from their own lives. On my tour of Siberia and the Soviet Far East, which Vasili Vasilyevich has spoken about, I felt this particularly strongly.

In the course of discussion of the draft Constitutions, we received many proposals and suggestions worthy of attention. It is very important not to overlook anything here, one must gather, literally grain by grain, all that is useful and valuable, and in our practical work make the fullest possible assessment of the wishes expressed by working people. This is the job of the government bodies of each republic and of local government bodies, as well as, of course, of our central government.

Second. The discussion was yet another clear manifestation of the profoundly internationalist nature of our whole society.

The Constitution of the USSR and the Constitutions of the Union republics have reaffirmed that the friendship of our peoples is a truly priceless gain of socialism, a powerful motive force of our development.

Our Party has always taken due notice of and has treated and will continue to treat with due respect the specifically national characteristics of our people. At the same time, following Lenin's behest, it is educating working people to be intolerant of national narrow-mindedness and arrogance.

The rapid development of the economy and culture of all of our republics, of all of our socialist nations, big and small, the very breath of our life, you might say, prompts every Soviet nation to draw this simple conclusion: the guarantee of its future lies in the fraternal cooperation of all Soviet citizens, the mutual enrichment of their national cultures, the successful solution of problems that concern the Soviet state as a whole, and all the peoples living in it. This is the foundation of the inviolable unity of the Soviet nation as a new historical community of people.

And, finally, a third point. The close attention given to the development of local authorities is typical of the entire procedure of the elaboration and adoption of the republican Constitutions.

The reason the functions of the local Soviets are defined in such detail in these Constitutions is because it is primarily through them that the will of the people is carried out and their interests are served.

It is in our time that the saying has arisen: "If you are a member of a Soviet your concern is the people". It is necessary that all the constitutional provisions concerning the Soviets, which are truly responsible for everything that goes on in the country, should be carried out with particular care. This is the duty of those who work in the government apparatus, it is the primary concern of Party bodies.

Today, as you probably know, comrades, the draft Constitutions for the Autonomous republics are under discussion. The adoption of these Constitutions will conclude the great and strenuous task of giving constitutional expression to social and government activities under a system of mature socialism, the task of building the foundations of the entire system of legislation of our state which is one of the entire people.

On the Report of the USSR Council of Ministers Concerning Fulfilment of the Directives on Drafting the USSR Plan and Budget for 1978, as Provided for by Law

I think, comrades, that we are doing the right thing by carefully examining, in the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the way the decisions of the Supreme Soviet and the laws it has adopted are being implemented, as well as the way in which the recommendations of the standing commissions and proposals, suggestions and critical remarks from deputies are being taken into consideration.

This practice, which is now being established, fully accords with the requirements of the Constitution and is called for by the needs of social development.

As has already been said here, the USSR ministries and departments and the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics have informed the standing commissions and the deputies who addressed the eighth session of the measures which are being taken in connection with the proposals they have submitted.

On Ratification of the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques

Comrades, in addition to what has been said here, I would like to say the following.

The convention, which we are ratifying today, is another practical step which will to some extent narrow the field of preparations for a new war. This was a step initiated by the Soviet Union, which is consistently carrying out the Peace Programme adopted at the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU.

At the same time the convention formulates, as it were, in concentrated form another very important objective of our age: to preserve our land in all its beauty and variety, to preserve the planet of mankind so that it may continue to serve people in the future, too.

The Soviet Union is doing its utmost to protect nature, its plant and animal world, and its mineral resources, in accordance with Lenin's behest. Lenin signed more than a hundred documents on nature conservation that were adopted in the early years of Soviet power. This line of our policy was reaffirmed at the 25th Congress of our Party. And we shall continue to adhere to it in the future.

But we are not alone on this planet, therefore protection of the natural environment calls for the efforts of all the people living on it. A wound inflicted upon the natural environment in one continent cannot but affect other continents, especially if the wound was deliberately inflicted, with malice and to the detriment of people. Regrettably, the possibilities of doing this are increasing with the advance of science.

This convention concerns all countries. It reaffirms the right of every nation to live on our planet without fear and it strengthens the hope that not only we ourselves, but also our grandchildren and our great grandchildren, will be able to enjoy the benefits of nature, which is the very basis of life for every human being.

As we endorse this convention, we call on all states to join it too. The conservation of nature is everybody's concern; it requires the efforts of all mankind.

Comrades, the opening of the special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament is only a few days away. The Soviet Union will submit a far-reaching programme at this session. It aims at a complete cessation of the arms drive, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and at achieving a breakthrough in disarmament, the most important of all international problems.

Approval of this convention by all states at this particular time is an important step in this same direction, however limited in scope. By putting this convention into effect its signatories are, as it were, saying that it is unwise to bring matters to the point that states will again be stocking their arsenals with new and dangerous means of warfare and destruction. The harm this would do would be huge and well-nigh irreparable.

Therefore permit me to conclude with a reminder that all the other urgent problems involved in curbing the arms drive must also be solved as soon as possible.

On the Measures Taken by the Newspaper "Izvestia" and the Journal "Sovety Narodnykh Deputatov" (Councils of People's Deputies) to Improve the Work of Summing Up and Spreading the Experience of the Activities of the Soviets and Their Deputies

Comrades, *Izvestia* and the journal *Sovety* are unquestionably doing a great deal of useful work. I already spoke of this when, two

months ago, *Izvestia* was awarded the Order of the October Revolution. The *Sovety Narodnykh Deputatov*, which, incidentally, was also awarded a government order recently, is an *Izvestia* publication, so that its staff can consider that what was said about the newspaper *Izvestia* also applies to themselves.

We Communists always regard a government award as a kind of promissory note to be repaid with new achievements. Therefore it would be quite in order today to scrutinise the work both of the newspaper and the journal more rigorously and more critically.

It goes without saying that every publication has its main theme which gives it its personality, as it were. For *Izvestia* and *Sovety* this theme is the activities of the government bodies of Soviet power in all their variety, as well as the work of the Deputies elected to these bodies by the people.

Lenin said that the Soviet system is a system which is open to all, that the Soviet Government does its work in full view of the masses. This means that our bodies of authority operate on the principle of publicity; they regularly inform the population of the decisions taken and of how these decisions have been implemented. This also means that in all their activities the Soviets rely on millions of activists and are helped by broad masses of the working people.

To maintain this vital link between the Soviets and the public is one of the principal functions of the press publications which we are discussing today.

The most important Party decisions in the past few years and the new Constitution of the USSR open up great new avenues for the Soviets. The work of the Soviets affects practically all aspects of the life of our people—the economy and culture, day-to-day living and trade, education, health, public order, and, of course, our socially useful labour. That is why a newspaper must bring all these questions into ever sharper focus. It is not just a matter of raising these questions, but of doing it in as popular a form as possible, so that it may find its way into the hearts of millions of readers. The newspaper then will be awaited with real impatience in every home, by every family. The same can be said about the journal.

It is also important that readers should see that all that is right, all that is socially useful—be it a new popular initiative, or someone's critical remark—is supported by the newspaper. Then they will regard the paper as truly theirs.

That is why the effectiveness of a publication is considered so urgent today. Otherwise a newspaper cannot be a truly living and authoritative, a truly mass publication.

And finally, it must be said that today *Izvestia* remains a powerful vehicle for the peaceful Leninist foreign policy of our Party and

the Soviet state, and for the ideas of proletarian and socialist internationalism. But this vehicle will become still more effective if it reacts to events more promptly and writes in a way that is more attractive and easier to understand.

I believe that our discussion today and the decisions we shall adopt will help both the newspaper and the journal in their future work.

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE DINNER
GIVEN IN HONOUR OF THE PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES JOSE LOPEZ
PORTILLO**

May 17, 1978

Esteemed Mr. President,
Esteemed Mexican guests,
Comrades,

It gives me great pleasure to extend my heartfelt greetings to you, Mr. President, to your wife and to all the state and political leaders of the United Mexican States who arrived with you.

Our meeting is still further proof of the growing ties between the Soviet Union and Mexico. Geographically our countries are far apart, in different hemispheres. But distance is no obstacle to cooperation when there is a sincere desire for friendship.

What is the Soviet people's idea of Mexico based on? First of all, the courageous struggle of the Mexican people for freedom and independence. The ardent patriotism and glorious traditions of the liberation, anti-imperialist struggle of Mexicans have long evoked sympathy and respect in the Soviet Union.

The history of Soviet-Mexican relations goes back over half a century. It has numerous vivid and glorious pages. Friendship between our countries has withstood the test of time.

Mutually advantageous equal cooperation based on principles of peaceful coexistence has been established between the USSR and Mexico in many fields.

The tone of our relations is, undoubtedly, set by the successful development of diverse political contacts. Adherence to the cause of struggle for peace and international security, solidarity with the peoples upholding their freedom and independence provide a reliable foundation for them. We are easily finding a common language on many issues of international politics and we speak up on the most topical problems of our time from common or close positions. Regular consultations, exchanges of parliamentary delegations

and, of course, summit meetings—all help to strengthen mutual understanding and mutual trust and to map out the important stages of further cooperation.

As to trade and economic ties, here, too, we have good prospects. The volume of trade today is not yet great, but the goods that we are exchanging are needed by the economies of our countries. Besides, we have a substantial legal basis of treaties. The thing is to make the most rational use of existing opportunities.

It is no secret that the Soviet people respond with understanding to the Mexican people's efforts to develop their national economy, protect their natural wealth from exploitation by foreign capital. We hold that these efforts are in the common channel of the struggle by Latin American and all developing countries against the sway of foreign monopolies, for restructuring international economic relations on a democratic, just basis.

The Soviet people have always shown much interest in the age-old, distinctive culture of Mexico. Our cultural and scientific ties began to develop in the 1920s. Such prominent personalities of Soviet science and culture as Academician Vavilov, the poet Mayakovsky and the film director Eisenstein visited Mexico in their time and it made a vivid, indelible impression on them. In their turn, many Mexican cultural figures visited our country. Among them the outstanding sons of the Mexican people, the world famous painters Diego Rivera and David Siqueiros.

It is gratifying to note that our relations are not marking time but are developing dynamically. They have become especially intensive in the 1970s. More inter-state and other agreements have been concluded between the USSR and Mexico in the last two-three years alone than throughout the entire post-war period.

Mr. President,

A lasting peace, the security of nations and the development of peaceful and equal cooperation among them—this is what lies at the centre of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

The Soviet state places the ending of the arms race and disarmament at the summit of the struggle for peace. Our country is not alone in the struggle for peace and disarmament. Side by side with us are the countries of the socialist community and many other states, all forces against war, all people of good will.

Through the combined effort of all peace-loving states—and here we pay tribute to Mexico's contribution—it proved possible to conclude a number of international and bilateral agreements which limit to a specific degree the production and deployment of individual types of armaments. On the whole the past decade has brought about quite a few positive, I might say healthy, changes in international relations. They are expressed in the general phrase—relaxation of international tension.

At the same time it must be said outright that there exist forces, and influential forces at that, who are well known, and have long

ago based their policies on a heightening of international tension and linked their interests with the arms race.

This is the main reason for the fact that the tempo of military preparations is increasing and, consequently, the danger of war. It is high time to embark finally on real steps to curb the arms race and lay a beginning for disarmament.

It is with these aims in view that we have recently come out with a concrete programme of practical steps directed at putting a complete end to the further quantitative and qualitative growth of the armaments and armed forces of states possessing a large military capacity. We want the production of all types of nuclear weapons to be stopped; we want the production of all other types of weapons of mass annihilation to be stopped and these weapons banned; we want no more new types of conventional arms of great destructive force to be created; we want the permanent Security Council members and countries bound to them by military agreements not to further expand their armies and not to increase conventional armaments.

That is what we propose to try and reach agreement on in the near future. We think that this programme accords with the interests and aspirations of all peoples and should have the support of all peace-loving governments including, as we hope, also the Mexican government.

It is absolutely clear that the cause of disarmament depends not only on the Soviet Union. Were our will alone sufficient, mankind would have long been free from the burden of the arms race. But the problem of disarmament can be solved only by common effort.

We hope that at the forthcoming special session of the United Nations General Assembly all states, including non-aligned states and among them, of course, Mexico, will make their useful contribution to solving the problem of disarmament.

I would like to mention here also another important constructive step that the Soviet Union is undertaking in accordance with its principled policy aimed at lessening the threat of nuclear war. Our country has decided to sign Additional Protocol Two to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.

In committing ourselves to respect the nuclear-free zone status in the Latin American continent, we are proceeding from the premise that other nuclear powers, too, will be strictly observing this status, that the participants in the Treaty will ensure a truly nuclear-free regime in the zone covered by the Treaty. On the whole we expect that this step of ours will help strengthen and develop friendly relations with Latin American countries.

In conclusion, Mr. President, may I express confidence that your visit and our exchange of opinions on a wide range of questions will give a new impetus to the strengthening and expansion of So-

viet-Mexican relations. The talks that began today have confirmed that our countries possess a mutual desire to develop cooperation in every way, to make it still broader and more dynamic in scope.

May I propose a toast to the health of the President of Mexico, Jose Lepez Portillo, and his wife!

To the health of our Mexican guests!

To friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Mexico!

SPEECH AT A FORMAL MEETING IN PRAGUE ON THE ARRIVAL OF THE SOVIET PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION

May 31, 1978

Dear Comrade Husak,

Dear comrades, members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Central Committee of the National Front, the Federal Assembly and the Government of the CzSSR, representatives of the working people of the city of Prague!

I wish, first of all, to express my sincere gratitude for the kind words which have been spoken here about our Party and our country. Our delegation extends to all those assembled in this hall and to all the fraternal Czechoslovak people the warmest greetings from the Leninist Communist Party and its Central Committee, from the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government, and from the many millions of our people.

When we visit friends we refresh our spirit. There is, of course, lots of work to do, but no matter how heavy a load there may be, it is easy working with one's comrades and fellow-thinkers, and one feels very well.

Dear friends, in preparing my speech for you, I was bound to recall two momentous dates which are to be celebrated later this year. Just about sixty years have passed since the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic. For half of this period your country has lived under the star of socialism. Does this not offer an occasion for some reflections on the destinies of your country, on its past, present and future?

When a sweeping uprising of the proletariat and peasants brought the people's genuine representatives into Prague Castle three decades ago, the Communists had to face some exceptionally difficult tasks. They had to overcome the aftermath of the war and the fascist occupation, restructure their society along new, socialist lines, secure an upsurge of their economy and culture, and improve the living conditions of the working people in every way. That gigan-

tic constructive effort had to be undertaken in the midst of a bitter fight against their class enemies, who went on exerting an influence for a long time afterwards. Then in 1968 the enemies of socialism launched yet another, broadly conceived attack on the revolutionary gains of the working class.

Today, looking back on the past, our Czechoslovak comrades can say with satisfaction that they have come through their difficult trials with flying colours.

The Czechoslovakia of today is a country with a strong and systematically advancing economy; it is a country with an advanced science and culture; it has high living standards, it offers the widest possible opportunities for individual development and for the active involvement of millions of its citizens in the administration of government and social affairs. Underlying all this there are the Communist Party's endeavours to transform and guide your country, the great and painstaking efforts of the working class, your peasantry, and the intellectuals your people have produced.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a respected member of the fraternal family of socialist states, is playing a great part in international affairs and is actively and effectively participating in the solution of topical international problems and in the consolidation of European and world peace.

We are sincerely glad to be able to congratulate you, dear comrades, on all these achievements. They offer the most conclusive evidence of the correctness of the line pursued by the glorious and militant Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its Central Committee, led by Comrade Gustav Husak, an eminent son of the Czechoslovak people and a distinguished leader of the socialist community and the communist movement!

The gains now in evidence are, at the same time, a bridgehead for further advance. We know that the Communists and the working people of the CzSSR are enthusiastically working to carry out the big economic and social programme outlined by the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the programme for building an advanced socialist society in your country. We wish you full success in this work and in making your socialist homeland still finer.

A steady onward movement on the way to higher summits is, one may say, a law of socialism. This is, of course, not an easy upgrade to climb, and it calls for the whole of the community and every one of its conscientious members to throw every ounce of their energies and abilities into it. What is no less important—and this is something I should like to dwell on in particular—is to work constantly towards deepening and developing the cooperation of the fraternal socialist countries.

We need not go far afield for examples to prove this to be a useful thing. Look at the economic, scientific and technological links between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. There is an

uninterrupted flow of millions upon millions of tons of goods crossing our common frontier both ways. We have more and more joint construction projects getting under way in both countries. A close-knit collective effort of our scientists, engineers and workers is producing up-to-date machinery and advanced technologic. Intellectual exchanges between our peoples, making all of us far richer, have become more fruitful and diversified than ever before.

One may say that all aspects of our cooperation—industrial, scientific, technological and political—have been brought into focus by the recent space flight of the first ever international socialist crew with the participation of Czechoslovakia's pioneer spaceman Vladimir Remek. So, you and we now have four more common heroes—Soviet and Czechoslovak.

More launchings of international space crews of socialist countries are ahead. In short, one can say that our community, having firmly established itself on Earth, is beginning to cooperate effectively in exploring outer space.

So, comrades, there is literally no major avenue in social life where the cooperation of the sister nations of socialism does not make a favourable impact.

There has been a peaceful sky over Europe for more than three decades. This is very important. This is the longest peace, it seems to me, history has ever given to the peoples of our continent. And the peoples must clearly realise that this has been largely, and even decisively, due to the fact that half of Europe lives under socialism today. Peace in Europe is, in many ways, a product of our common effort and the concerted foreign policy of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Marxist-Leninist ideology is in the vanguard of world social thinking today. It has passions running high around it and various social movements drawing towards it. And this, too, is, in tremendous degree, an upshot of the joint creative activities of our parties and of the influence of their wealth of practical experience in building a new type of world.

Great authority has been won by socialist culture, profoundly humanistic in spirit, and indissolubly linked with the best of national traditions, and, at the same time, innovatory and internationalist, reflecting as it does the creative genius of many nations and ethnic groups.

In the last decades alone, the countries united in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have doubled their industrial potential. Our multilateral cooperation has played a great role in this, along with national efforts.

We are in the habit of soberly appraising the state of things and we never close our eyes to outstanding problems. In a number of aspects, our countries are not yet in a position to establish standards of reference, so to speak. This applies, notably, to some areas of electronics, engineering and chemical industries. Can we move up

in front in these fields, too? Of course we can. And we can do this sooner, if we improve the international socialist division of labour and develop even closer economic cooperation.

The main thing, in our judgement, is to make our contacts as effective as possible, and to take into account not only the needs of the moment, but longer-term requirements as well. We have exchanged views on these major issues at the current talks with the Czechoslovak leaders. It is a pleasure to note that we see eye to eye on this subject as well.

Comrades,

Some of my dearest recollections have always been and will be associated with Czechoslovakia and Prague. It is here that we saw the welcome peace set in after four years of immeasurably hard fighting. It is here that we vowed to prevent any further tragedy of war from happening. We have every right to say that the Communists stand by this oath.

Much has been done in recent years to improve the international situation, particularly in Europe. The residents in the same house of Europe, so to speak, now do not only greet each other, but speak to each other in peaceful terms, and have learned to cooperate quite well in many matters. This was clearly in evidence during my recent visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. We have, in our opinion, worked out an extensive programme for raising the level and quality of our mutual relations. This programme, meeting, naturally, the interests of both countries, is no less concerned with consolidating detente on the European continent.

A durable peace in Europe is, beyond all doubt, one of the major preconditions for preventing another world war. The Helsinki conference held three years ago created all opportunities for the development of good relations on the European continent. A solid political foundation, it would seem, has thus been laid for detente. But some political quarters have since come to the fore in an obvious attempt to wreck the process of detente, both in Europe and elsewhere, and to return to a "chilly" war, if not a "cold" one.

The same attempt is, of course, behind such acts as the savage intervention by NATO countries in Zaire, a cynical operation which the men behind it have been trying to cover up by launching a noisy propaganda campaign about an alleged "Soviet" or "Cuban" involvement in the affair.

Another fact is that many important initiatives of socialist countries, undoubtedly meeting the interests of the European peoples and, indeed, those outside of Europe, have not received the attention they deserve, although everybody would quite obviously stand to gain from them.

There is no question that the ground for peaceful cooperation of states has been badly damaged because of the continuing arms race. To put an end to it and take practical steps towards disarmament—this is the great task today not only for governments and not only

for those wielding power. It is a task for all political parties and political trends, for trade unions and other social organisations, and for the mass media. Nobody has the right to stand aloof from it. One cannot expect that the present course of events will be reversed, that is, from the arms build-up to disarmament, without vigorous efforts on the part of the international community and of the broadest possible spectrum of political forces.

It is our fervent wish to bury the ax of war so deep under the ground that no sinister forces could ever dig it out again. This is the purpose behind our proposals for merging political detente with military detente and for conducting all-encompassing negotiations on disarmament, including nuclear disarmament.

We approach the talks on curbing the arms race in all seriousness and in good faith. We are against fruitless verbal exchanges and against such talks coming to resemble that "disarmament conference", if one may say so, which was held up to ridicule by Jaroslav Hasek. You may recall that his heroes, stupified after endless night-long sessions and banquets, began to urge everybody to arm himself, as if out of good intentions.

A special disarmament session of the UN General Assembly has been meeting in New York for the past few days. Its participants are discussing the disarmament problem in its entirety for the first time in UN history.

The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have set forth at the session proposals and initiatives which have been thoroughly considered and which are designed to lead to constructive efforts and practical results.

Our position on disarmament issues is, to put it briefly, as follows. There is no type of arms which the USSR would not be prepared to limit and ban on a reciprocal basis agreed upon with other states. The important thing is that all this should be done without damage to anybody's security and on terms of complete reciprocity of states in possession of the armaments in question. It is important that the desire to stop the arms race should be sincere, and not ostentatious.

Unfortunately, the position of our major partners in the negotiations is full of contradictions. Here is a good case in point.

A top-level NATO Council session is now under way in Washington. Some of its participants had stopped over in New York, on their way to or from the NATO meeting, to utter some high-sounding words about disarmament at the special UN session. Meanwhile at the NATO Council session, the participants, in the same breath, as it were, are discussing further plans for military preparations for many years ahead. So, where are the Western powers talking business and where are they bandying words?

It is high time to realise that the arms race can do no one any good. It must be stopped, and an honest effort must be made to achieve disarmament.

The socialist countries have done much work to get things started on the way to disarmament. And however great the obstacles may be, we shall move on, together with all supporters of the policy of peace and good-neighbourly relations, in search of a dependable and complete solution to this urgent problem.

Let me, comrades, close by wishing you once more, from the bottom of my heart, the best of success in all of your endeavours, and happiness and prosperity to every Czechoslovak family.

May our common asset—the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia—go from strength to strength!

Long live peace!

Long live communism!

**SPEECH IN PRAGUE CASTLE MARKING THE
AWARD OF THE ORDER OF THE OCTOBER
REVOLUTION TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY
OF THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
PRESIDENT OF THE CSSR, G. HUSAK**

May 31, 1978

Dear Comrade Husak,
Esteemed comrades.

The visit of our Party and government delegation also has associated with it the pleasant mission for me of awarding the Order of the October Revolution to the General Secretary of the CPC CC, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Comrade Gustav Husak. This Soviet award is being conferred upon him in recognition of his outstanding contribution to the development of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and CSSR and to the cause of strengthening peace and socialism, and in connection with his having attained the age of sixty-five.

I have only just spoken, in the Spanish Hall, about the notable successes of socialist Czechoslovakia, successes in which, together with you, dear comrades, pride is taken by the Soviet people—your friends and brothers-in-arms. These successes constitute the most convincing evidence that the CPC is travelling on the right road, that the workers have faith in the Party and support its plans and undertakings. And in this no small part is played by the personal service of Comrade Husak, the acknowledged and authoritative leader of the Czechoslovak Communists.

The road travelled in life by Comrade Husak is well known to all of us. The very highest acknowledgement is due to him for the active part he played in the heroic Slovak national uprising, for his contribution to the victory of the proletarian revolution and affirmation of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia, and for the outstanding role he has played in the leadership of the Party and country for a period of ten years now.

We have deep respect and affection for Comrade Husak, who is a man of high principle and political courage, who is dedicated to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, and who shows constant awareness of the spirit of communist comradeship.

In conferring upon you, dear Comrade Husak—who already holds two Orders of Lenin—the Order of the October Revolution, I want to wish you, with all my heart, good health and many, many more years of such fruitful work for the benefit of socialist Czechoslovakia and the cause of socialism and peace.

**SPEECH IN PRAGUE MARKING THE AWARD
OF THE ORDER OF LENIN TO MEMBER OF
THE PRESIDUM OF THE CPC CC, SECRETARY
OF THE CPC CC, V. BILYAK**

May 31, 1978

Dear Comrade Bilyak,
Esteemed comrades!

I have one more pleasant duty to fulfil—to award the Order of Lenin to Presidium member and Secretary of the CPC CC, Comrade Vasil Bilyak.

Comrade Bilyak, you have had this award conferred upon you in recognition of your life and work as a fighter for communism. All of us know you as a prominent Party and public figure, and loyal comrade-in-arms of Comrade Husak, and we highly value your qualities of great sincerity, communist conviction, and high principle.

I would like to draw attention, in particular, to the very considerable work you have put into giving effect to the course of the CPC Central Committee aimed at promoting the cooperation of our two fraternal parties, and at deepening Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship.

And there is something else that I think should be said. Your activity has always served and continues to serve as an example of one who has a deep and clear understanding of the international duty of Communists, of the importance of their solidarity in the struggle to achieve common aims.

In awarding the Order of Lenin to you, our dear friend, I wish you with all my heart good health and new successes in your responsible work.

**SPEECH IN BRATISLAVA AT THE DINNER IN
HONOUR OF THE SOVIET PARTY AND
GOVERNMENT DELEGATION**

June 1, 1978

Dear comrades and friends,

I thank you with all my heart on behalf of our delegation and on my own behalf for the unforgettable hours we have spent in this fine city on the Danube. Thank you for the warm hospitality and comradely consideration of the Slovak Party and state leaders and for the bright smiles and cheers of the citizens of Bratislava.

The very name of your city is music to the Russian ear, and, indeed, to any Slav for that matter: it means "brother" and "glory" combined as a single whole. It is a remarkable and, I would say, very proper name for your city!

A great many things in my life have been associated with the soil of Slovakia, inimitable in its beauty and so close to us, linguistically and culturally. My recollections take me back to the gruelling years of the bitter fight against fascism and to the various stages of the growing and ever deeper friendship between our two sister socialist nations.

The historical destinies of Slovakia over the past half a century have been a kind of object lesson for the peoples, which nobody should ignore. Can one forget, indeed, that one of the purposes behind the sinister order which German fascism was out to install in the so-called "new Europe" it held in captivity, was to do away with the Czechoslovak Republic and break the state and national unity of the Czechs and Slovaks? This unity did not suit those who aspired to dominate the peoples of Europe for a "thousand years to come".

Yet the hour of liberation from fascist enslavement did strike. Hitler's aggressors were put to rout by the Soviet Armed Forces whose actions merged with the liberation struggle of the captive nations. The heroic Slovak uprising went down in the history of those days as an unforgettable chapter.

Having liberated themselves from the invaders, the Czechs and Slovaks had their own weighty say about their subsequent destinies. The state unity of Czechoslovakia was restored. And not only was it restored, it acquired a new and indestructible foundation in the shape of the Leninist national policy which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has been following in the context of socialism.

The experience of Czechoslovakia, as that of the Soviet Union, convincingly shows that only socialism and only the policy of the Communists ensure the genuine mutual respect and brotherly cooperation of nationalities, their genuine equal rights and actual equality. One of the striking examples of this is the rapid development of Slovakia, the flourishing of its industry and agriculture, enabling the elimination of former backwardness—the legacy of the capitalist past. The achievements of present-day Slovakia are the product of socialism, one of the tangible results of the indissoluble unity of socialist Czechoslovakia. And we, your neighbours, friends and brothers, sincerely rejoice in these achievements.

I must mention one more thing. Today's Slovakia is the part of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic across which runs a busy network of ties and contacts between our two countries. There is a great variety and number of them. Supplementary to these overall inter-state ties is the immediate neighbourly intercourse that exists between contiguous regions of the two countries. In a word, we in all respects are good acquaintances, good neighbours and good friends. Therefore we were very glad to visit Slovakia.

Allow me, comrades, to propose a toast:

To new successes in the development of the Slovak Socialist Republic!

To the happiness and prosperity of the fraternal Czechoslovak people!

To the indestructible friendship between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union!

To the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia!

To the health of Comrades Husak, Bilyak and Lenart, who are present here, and each of our generous Bratislava hosts!

SPEECH IN PRAGUE ON THE OCCASION OF RECEIVING THE HIGHEST CZECHOSLOVAK AWARD—THE ORDER OF KLEMENT GOTTWALD

June 2, 1978

Dear Comrade Husak,

Esteemed comrades,

In receiving this high award of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, I thank you warmly for the honour shown me.

The Order which you have conferred upon me bears the name of one whom we all hold dear, Klement Gottwald, one of the outstanding founders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the first president of the Republic with a working-class background. He made a truly historic contribution to the cause of the triumph of socialism in the land of Czechoslovakia. I am proud to have had the good fortune to have met this distinguished Communist and to have talked with him.

We all know what a passionate and staunch champion of Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship Comrade Gottwald was. He rightly saw in it an invigorating source of strength and inspiration. He was tireless in emphasising that joint work and the closest cooperation increased our possibilities tenfold.

This is demonstrated today with especial clarity. Whether the matter is one of daily economic affairs, or whether it concerns major questions of policy—in all areas we rely on each other for mutual support and fraternal assistance. And it is very important that the workers of our countries, who number many millions, are today marching under the banner of Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship, raised aloft by the Communists.

Recognition of one's work—and, of course, it represents only a tiny fraction of the immense work of the Party—is always a cause for emotion. All the more so when that recognition is accorded by comrades-in-arms and friends with whom one is tied by long years of joint work. Even more acute is the awareness of what great res-

ponsibility history has laid upon us, Communists, and how necessary, and how rewarding, is our common concern to ensure that Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation continues to grow and strengthen.

I would like to assure you, dear comrades, that in the Soviet people, the people of Czechoslovakia will always have a true and reliable friend and ally. For my part, I shall continue constantly to devote myself to the cause of friendship with socialist Czechoslovakia.

Once more, a big thank you for this high award.

SPEECH AT THE RECEPTION IN PRAGUE IN HONOUR OF THE SOVIET PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION

June 2, 1978

Dear Comrade Husak,

Dear comrades and friends,

Thank you very much for the feelings of genuine friendship and firm solidarity expressed here by Comrade Husak towards our country, our Party and our people. You well know, comrades, that these feelings are reciprocal. They lie at the base of the brotherhood uniting our parties, our states and our peoples.

The hour of parting with you and our return home is drawing nearer. And as always in such cases, one sums up in one's mind the past days, the work accomplished and the impressions gathered.

It is this summing-up that I would like now to share with you.

The many hours we have spent in negotiations and comradely talks during these days with the Party and state leaders of Czechoslovakia have confirmed that our thoughts go in one and the same direction and that we approach all major issues from common positions.

We had a meaningful and very fruitful exchange of information and opinions on many important questions concerning our relations and international politics. We have signed a document which, I can safely say, will play a big role in the further development of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation. In this same document our two countries have informed the world of their unanimous assessment of the international situation.

In a word, we have done together quite an excellent piece of work.

And there is one more thing that I want to say: we feel profoundly grateful for the exceptionally cordial welcome accorded us. We thank the leaders of the Communist Party and the Czechoslovak state, citizens of Prague and Bratislava and all those with whom we met during our short stay in the CSSR for this.

Socialist Czechoslovakia is a country worthy not only of respect, but also of sincere love. A country of great natural beauty. A country whose profound and vivid culture has been created by the efforts of talented people over the centuries. And at the same time—a young and dynamic society boldly paving the way to the future. The days we spent this time on Czechoslovak soil have strengthened afresh these impressions of your remarkable country. We shall take away the memories of them with us and convey them to our compatriots.

I propose a toast:

To socialist Czechoslovakia and its militant Communist Party!

To the fraternal alliance of our countries, the unbreakable unity of our parties and the everlasting friendship of our peoples!

To the health of the tried and tested leaders of the CPC and the CSSR, Comrade Gustav Husak, to the health and successes of all our dear Czechoslovak friends!

SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE DINNER IN HONOUR OF KING CARL XVI GUSTAF OF SWEDEN AND QUEEN SILVIA

June 7, 1978

Your Majesties,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Comrades,

On behalf of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government I cordially greet our esteemed Swedish guests, King Carl XVI Gustaf and Queen Silvia, all the representatives of friendly Sweden who have arrived together with them.

In welcoming the Swedish head of state, we are glad to express again the friendly sentiments which the Soviet people and the Soviet leadership have toward Sweden and its people—one of our closest neighbours on the Baltic.

It is not by hearsay and not by reports from others but from close communication in the course of many years that we know the Swedes as an energetic, industrious, spiritually rich and technically gifted nation, as a people who seek peaceful cooperation with other peoples.

In our time, to be good neighbours means not only to live side by side with each other, to avoid conflicts, to refuse to take the road of hostility and estrangement. This is in itself very important, of course, and, to speak frankly, this has not yet been achieved by all.

Good-neighbourly relations also mean active political ties between states, steadily growing cooperation in the economic field. They mean lively cultural exchanges which are conducive to mutual spiritual enrichment. Finally they mean the pooling of efforts in the struggle for a more lasting peace.

It is in this spirit that the Soviet Union seeks to build its cooperation with Sweden. And we believe that your visit is fresh confirmation of the fact that relations between the Soviet Union and Sweden are in the process of development, and development in the right direction.

The Soviet Union and Sweden have already gained considerable experience which will guide them in conducting their affairs in the future and in widening areas of mutual intercourse.

We stand for the further development of contacts between the governments, parliaments and public organisations, for broad intercourse between our peoples. We support anything that strengthens mutual confidence and goodwill, anything that creates a favourable political climate.

There was a time, in the early years of Soviet government, when Sweden held a leading place in our country's foreign trade, which, true, was very modest at that time. Lenin stressed the importance of the first major trade agreement with Sweden concluded in 1920.

In the present conditions when our trade has assumed quite different proportions, we think that the opportunities are good for making Soviet-Swedish economic collaboration still broader and more stable and for increasing in it the share of such advanced forms as cooperation and specialisation, and the conclusion of big long-term contracts.

I shall not conceal from you that we have considerable hopes also of broadening cooperation with Sweden, just as with all peace-loving states, in the cause of further improving international relations.

In conditions of detente, the policy of non-alignment, the policy of neutrality which is pursued by Sweden and a number of other countries in Europe, is becoming an increasingly important factor of international life. The neutral countries can make and are making—as is shown by the example of Sweden—a very good contribution toward strengthening peace and cooperation between states.

We pay tribute to Sweden's foreign policy moves in this direction.

The Soviet Union's position on issues of peace is a clear-cut and principled one. The Soviet Union went to the special General Assembly session on disarmament, the first one in the history of the UN, with an extensive and concrete programme aimed at stopping completely the arms race.

It is our firm intention to press for its implementation. Frankly speaking, we believe that Sweden, just as other peace-loving states, has every reason to support these proposals.

Let me raise a toast to the success of the efforts of the Soviet Union, Sweden and all peace-loving states in building a peaceful future for the peoples of the world!

To stronger Soviet-Swedish good-neighbourly relations!

To the friendly people of Sweden!

To the health of their Majesties King Carl XVI Gustaf and Queen Silvia!

To the health of all the Swedish guests!

SPEECH AT A MEETING WITH LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BYELORUSSIA AND THE BYELORUSSIAN SSR AND LEADING FUNCTIONARIES OF THE REGIONS OF THE REPUBLIC *

June 25, 1978

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev noted that the Party organisation and all the working people of Byelorussia were preparing to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Communist Party of Byelorussia and the Byelorussian SSR. This is a great holiday not only of the Byelorussian people, but of all the peoples of the Soviet Union. In honour of the approaching jubilee working people in the towns and villages of the republic are working very well and displaying great political enthusiasm.

The CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev stressed, highly appreciates the activities of the Party organisation of Byelorussia, the persistence and purposefulness of the Byelorussian Communists in implementing the policy of the Party, and the important work they are doing in the cultivation of a communist world outlook in the working people and in their labour, moral, internationalist and patriotic education.

The capable organisational and political work is having a positive effect on the republic's economic development. Industry, where high growth rates of production are to be observed, is successfully fulfilling and overfulfilling plan assignments.

Meriting approval and support is the work being done to reconstruct and promote the community development of Byelorussian villages. But all your achievements must not push into the background your shortcomings. We would not be Communists, Leonid Brezhnev pointed out, if we did not speak about shortcomings and weaknesses and did not analyse them from a principled viewpoint. Specifically, one cannot reconcile oneself to the fact that a

* A summary

considerable part of Byelorussia's industrial enterprises systematically fail to carry out the plan for the sale of their produce and the growth of labour productivity. This year too there is a lag in the construction of certain capacities for the production of mineral fertilizers and consumer goods, schools and pre-school children's establishments. These facts should be thoroughly examined and order introduced in construction.

Nor should attention be slackened to questions pertaining to the output-asset ratio, a regime of economies, the quality of output—that is to say, everything connected with raising the efficiency of the national economy. The situation here is improving, but the pace of the changes can and must be higher.

Then Comrade Leonid Brezhnev touched upon questions of the development of agriculture and said that very much had been done in this sphere in Byelorussia, as also throughout the country, but that a great deal still remained to be done. In particular, the crop yields of cereals had grown considerably in Byelorussia, but the state of affairs in increasing crop yields of potatoes was much worse. There had been no noticeable change for the better in this sphere.

As regards raising the productivity of livestock, especially dairy cattle, in this respect Byelorussia is still lagging considerably behind neighbouring Lithuania, its partner in emulation. There has been practically no increase in the yield of milk per cow at Byelorussian collective and state farms.

In conclusion Comrade Leonid Brezhnev voiced confidence that the Communists of Byelorussia would understand correctly the remarks that had been made and would do everything necessary to correct the existing shortcomings. I am positive, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev said, that you, comrade Byelorussians, will be able to muster all your energy and determination and greet fittingly this anniversary, so that you have achievements to report to your people and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's speech was listened to with great attention and warm approval.

**SPEECH IN MINSK UPON THE OCCASION OF
CONFERRING THE ORDER OF LENIN AND THE
HAMMER AND SICKLE GOLD MEDAL OF
HERO OF SOCIALIST LABOUR UPON
CANDIDATE-MEMBER OF THE POLITBUREAU
OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, FIRST
SECRETARY OF THE CC OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF BYELORUSSIA, P. M. MASHEROV**

June 25, 1978

Dear Pyotr Mironovich,

It gives me great pleasure to confer upon you the Order of Lenin and Hammer and Sickle Gold Medal of Hero of Socialist Labour. This high award, which also marks your sixtieth year, testifies to our country's acknowledgement of your great services to the Communist Party and Soviet state.

The whole of your life has been connected with the Byelorussian SSR. Here you began your working career. Here, in the years of the Great Patriotic War, you fought bravely in the partisan detachments. The Motherland showed its high appreciation of your courage in conferring upon you in 1944 the honoured title of Hero of the Soviet Union. Here, in Byelorussia, you have risen in your career as a worker for the Party and state.

The notable successes which Byelorussia has achieved in its economic and cultural development are a result of the correct political course pursued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and of the selfless labour of the Byelorussian people, helped and supported by all the peoples of our country.

Together with this, these successes are a result of the productive organisational and political work of the Party organisations of the Republic, and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, which you have headed since 1965.

We well know how much energy, perseverance and purposefulness you display in implementing the policy of the Party and its

decisions. Your work of many years stands as an example of dedicated service to your people and to the cause of communism.

Together with this high award of the Motherland, please accept from me, personally, dear Pyotr Mironovich, and from all the comrades who are members of the Politbureau and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, congratulations and sincere wishes for your good health, a long life, and further active work for the benefit of our great Motherland.

SPEECH AT A FORMAL MEETING DEVOTED TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE ORDER OF LENIN AND THE GOLD STAR MEDAL TO HERO-CITY MINSK

June 25, 1978

Esteemed comrades,
Dear citizens of Minsk,

I am here to fulfil a responsible and pleasant mission—to present Soviet Byelorussia's capital Minsk, which has been awarded the honorable title of Hero-City, with the highest distinctions bestowed in our country—the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal.

Allow me on this solemn and festive day to warmly congratulate you and all working people of the republic on this high award.

Please accept the warmest congratulations from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers.

All Soviet people are sending today their felicitations and greetings to the glorious Byelorussian people, courageous and steadfast, industrious and modest, possessing a developed sense of international duty, confidently marching in step with all nations and nationalities of our country.

Awards to cities, of course, are awards to people. It is people who build cities. It is people who defend them. It is people who raise them from ruins. It is people who improve cities and transform them.

Your city has solid revolutionary traditions. Here the First Congress of the RSDLP was held. The Minsk Red Guard detachment sent to revolutionary Petrograd took part in the storming of the Winter Palace. In the grim days of the war, in the years of peaceful construction Minsk Communists were the genuine leaders and organisers of the masses, consistent exponents of the Party's political course.

Today we address the first words of appreciation, words of gratitude and deepest respect to the thousands upon thousands of Minsk

residents who bravely opposed the hitlerites' war machine with their heroism and determination to win. Minsk was captured by the enemy. But Minsk was never subdued or subjugated.

Under the leadership of an underground Party City Committee, a ramified network of clandestine groups and organisations operated in the city. Neither mass executions, nor the atrocities committed by punitive troops could break the heroes. Minsk became a real hell for the occupationists. Not for a single day did the enemy feel secure. A thousand and five hundred combat operations is the impressive record of three years of struggle by the Minsk underground.

Minsk was not alone. Its citizens were bound by thousands of links with the partisan movement that spread through the whole of Byelorussia. Two hundred and thirteen partisan brigades and 258 separate partisan detachments courageously fought in the enemy's rear. That was truly a sacred war, a war of the people.

In each city, in each Byelorussian village there are war veterans: partisans, underground workers, frontline men. Many of them are present in this hall, too. Words really fail me in trying to express my boundless gratitude to those who saved the country in that terrible time. Thank you. Good health to you, dear friends.

Byelorussia lost over two millions of its sons and daughters. We bow our heads before the exploit of those who became immortal by giving their lives to save their country.

I ask all of you to stand up to honour the memory of those heroes.

Comrades, the salvos of victory salute died away. The epic of war gave way to the epic of reconstruction. Many of you, surely, remember Minsk in the state in which it emerged from the war. Ruins, ashes, empty spaces overgrown with weeds... In effect the city had virtually ceased to exist. And again there was a battle, again a struggle—a struggle not merely to raise the capital of Byelorussia from ruins, but to make it even more beautiful than it had been. With the assistance of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government and the brotherly support of all the Union Republics, the people of Minsk in an unprecedentedly short time rebuilt their city.

Honour and glory to those who barely had time to take off their army greatcoats and field shirts, embrace their kith and kin back from the front, wipe away the bitter tears of grief, before they got down to the task of rehabilitation. The high award of Minsk is also your award, dear comrades!

I have been to many, very many cities of our country. And, honestly, I can say: Minsk today is one of the most beautiful.

While driving along the streets of Minsk, I experienced a feeling of profound satisfaction. It is a city that warrants admiration for its united and well-coordinated architectural conception, its modern layout, its clean and well-planned streets, its large areas of greenery.

Minsk today is not only a large industrial centre of the republic, but also of the entire country. The trucks and tractors you produce, the machine tools and instruments, electronic computers and optical apparatus are highly valued. The city's annual output now exceeds by 72 times the pre-war, 1940 level. Over a third of the items bear the Quality Mark.

Minsk can rightfully be proud of its young, but already advanced science which has boldly carved a place for itself with considerable achievements in such fields of knowledge as physics, industrial cybernetics, mathematics, nuclear power generation and others. Your scientists set a good example of fruitful links between science and production.

Minsk is the centre of Byelorussian culture and it makes a worthy contribution to the development of multinational Soviet culture as a whole. It is a centre of large educational institutions that train highly qualified specialists not only for the republic and the country, but also for friendly states. Your theatres, your song and dance ensembles are widely known and popular.

What I am particularly pleased to note today is that in the museums of Minsk, in the names of its streets and in its majestic monuments the memory of the combat past of the city, of heroic Minsk citizens is honoured—this memory was and continues to be a source of patriotic feelings and labour enthusiasm.

The achievements of Soviet Byelorussia, including its capital, are the living embodiment of the Leninist nationalities policy, a realisation of the creative power of the talents and abilities of the people released by socialism.

Congratulating the workers, engineers and technicians, scientists and men of culture, doctors, teachers and all working people of Minsk on this high award, I would like to express confidence that the citizens of Minsk will continue to hold high in future as well the banner of their city, a banner covered with the glory of combat and labour accomplishments.

The fact that under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia and the Minsk Regional Committee the 100,000-strong contingent of Minsk Communists is constantly perfecting the forms and methods of Party work should be given due recognition. Remarkable cadres of Party, local government, economic, trade union and Komsomol leaders have grown up who are interested in new developments, capable of competently tackling the problems raised by life, by the era of developed socialism.

Great success to you, dear friends! I am convinced that the Communists of Minsk, the Communists of Byelorussia will make a worthy contribution to the effort to carry out the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

The life of your republic has many interesting features, many developments which comrades from other republics would be well

advised to study. Especially gratifying are the initiative, singleness of purpose and persistence with which you are solving questions of economic and social development.

The steady and high rate of growth of the economic potential is to the great credit of the Party organisation of Byelorussia, of its work collectives. You successfully fulfilled the targets of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. And in the first two years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan your industrial output went up by 16.2 per cent against the planned 13.9 per cent and some 590 million roubles' worth of above-plan products were turned out. Well, what can one say here? Well done. Keep it up.

Appreciable successes have been scored by Byelorussia in the development of agriculture as well. There was a time when Byelorussian lands were regarded as infertile. Seven or eight metric centners of grain per hectare was almost the highest yield. And now? The average annual grain yields in the Ninth Five-Year Plan period were 21.3 centners, and in the past two years—already 25 centners per hectare. This is what modern farming practices can achieve. This is what a thrifty and intelligent attitude to the soil signifies.

It is important that not only the farm workers but also all those who supply agriculture with tractors, combine harvesters, the other machinery and mineral fertilizers, those who are engaged in amelioration work should treble their efforts if we are to further raise the output of farm products.

Comrades, in 1979-1980 all of us will have to work very hard. In order to fulfil the targets of the five-year plan as a whole, it is necessary in the remaining two years to markedly increase the rate of production growth, labour productivity and improve many other indices.

A major task that has been put forward by the Party is the raising of production efficiency. To this end we are mobilising all collectives. This also fully applies to you. Of special significance in this connection is the all-out strengthening of the regime of economy, of cost accounting in all sectors and, in the first place, strict and unswerving observance of planning discipline.

What does observance of planning discipline mean?

It means working out plans in good time, within set time limits and ensuring good co-ordination and balancing of targets for all indices, sectors of the economy and the republics.

It means that absolutely all the plan-envisaged targets should be fulfilled without exceptions. Not infrequently plan indicators are divided into "primary" and "secondary", with emphasis on fulfilment of the plan with respect to the "primary" targets, while neglecting the supposedly "secondary" ones. This is intolerable. A plan must be considered fulfilled only when the targets for all the approved indices have been achieved.

Observing discipline in planning also means to establish efficient, day-to-day control over fulfilment of the plan and to take stringent measures against violators of planning discipline.

A given situation, or change in objective conditions may require certain amendments to be made in the targets of the plan. This is understandable and inevitable. But sometimes amendments are made when there is no objective necessity and they only serve the purpose of making life easier for some of our economic executives. They tend to "legitimise" deviations from plan targets for the worse.

Such modifications of the plan are often the result of lack of organisation and inactivity on the part of individual executives. In consequence, the plan loses its mobilising force and becomes a screen to cover up drawbacks and shortcomings in work.

And leaders of higher bodies, if they make concessions to those who favour "easier" plans, show a lack of principle and firmness. Such juggling with plans must be viewed from principled Party positions. We do not need any doubtful blessings at state expense.

I am raising here the question of observing planning discipline so sharply not because this is a particular problem in Minsk or Byelorussia. Your experience has been mostly positive. I was told that instances of violation of planning discipline have become increasingly rare at your enterprises. This is the result of large-scale organisational, ideological and educational work by your Party organisations. It would be well to have this experience consolidated and widely disseminated.

Byelorussia's successes in all sectors of economic and social development are indisputable. But, while giving all credit to what has been accomplished, we Communists also see the problems that have not been solved.

I have to admit that in your republic, in Minsk as well, there are still enterprises and building organisations that unfortunately lag behind. In many factories and plants of the republic the returns on capital are still increasing slowly. There are many instances of overexpenditure of metal, raw materials, fuel and electricity. The average machine shift remains on a low level.

This list could be extended. But you, of course, know better than I do what your shortcomings are and the vast reserves that have not yet been put to use. It is a matter of honour for Party organisations to mobilise all workers in the cities and villages so as to utilise these reserves to the full.

The Central Committee of the CPSU has the right to expect that the Communists and all working people of Byelorussia will maintain a confident and steady pace in working for the republic's further progress, and succeed in carrying out the targets of the Tenth Five-Year Plan and reach new frontiers of economic and social progress.

Comrades,

Here, on Byelorussian soil, over which the bells of Khatyn ring like a tragic warning, one especially feels how important is the persistent struggle for peace the Soviet Union is waging, a struggle to prevent the conflagration of a new world war.

The UN General Assembly's special session on disarmament is drawing to an end in New York now. It has reaffirmed the profound interest of all mankind in terminating the arms race. The overwhelming majority of UN members expressed themselves in favour of disarmament.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have submitted to the session a broad, bold and at the same time realistic programme designed to bring the arms race to a complete end. Their proposals were the focus of businesslike discussion at the Assembly.

The session has also shown that the leaders of a number of major NATO countries, and above all the USA, clearly do not wish to display a constructive approach to the solution of disarmament problems. How otherwise is it possible to assess the holding of the NATO Council session in Washington which adopted a new long-term armament programme, while in New York the special session of the UN General Assembly was discussing a diametrically opposite problem—how to curb the arms race and achieve disarmament? Does this not show disregard for the vital concerns and expectations of the peace-loving peoples? It appears that in Washington the NATO countries drew up a "real policy", while in New York they participated in discussions only to distract attention, so as not to draw just criticism and censure.

The Peking rulers have been acting in agreement with this stand. The Chinese representative, it seems, spoke from the wrong platform. He should have made his aggressive speech at the NATO session, not at the United Nations.

Incidentally, this line of Peking is well appreciated in Washington. Of late, attempts have been made in the USA—at a high level and in a rather cynical form—to play the "Chinese card" against the USSR. This is a shortsighted and dangerous policy! Its authors may come to bitterly regret it.

The General Assembly session is finishing its work. But the ideas and proposals put forward at it undoubtedly will continue to exert their influence. The struggle for practical steps in curbing the arms race and in bringing about disarmament continues and must be strengthened.

One of the main avenues in this direction is the Vienna negotiations on limiting armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. I have spoken on many occasions about this problem and, to tell the truth, it was with a heavy heart that I did so. In fact, the 15th round of the talks has begun, the talks have been going on for almost five years now, but no practical results have yet been achieved.

And yet this is not a trifling question, but an extremely vital one for Europe and for the international situation as a whole.

Having made a comprehensive analysis of the situation, the socialist countries have taken an important new step to move the negotiations out of their deadlock at long last. Our countries submitted in Vienna new wide-ranging and concrete proposals, taking the whole of the vast experience of these talks into account.

What is their most important feature?

Firstly, they are absolutely clear and precise proposals. They specify the number of Soviet and American troops that would be subject to withdrawal in the first stage. And the number is fairly large. The USSR, for its part, is prepared to withdraw a total of three divisions with relevant military equipment, including about a thousand tanks, in the course of a year.

Secondly, a reduction of the armed forces of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries is to be carried out in such a way as to preserve their balance or, as they say, their parity. As a result of the reduction of the forces of all countries, an equal overall ceiling would be established for each of the groupings in Central Europe.

Furthermore, the very idea of such a ceiling is in line with the Western countries' proposals. Though, of course, we firmly believe that none of the participants in the talks has the right, hiding behind others' backs, to try to evade a reduction or even increase his armaments at the expense of reductions made by others.

The socialist countries are suggesting to their partners a reasonable and workable compromise. With their proposal, they have gone more than halfway. We say to the NATO countries: let us get down to business, at last. The basis for agreement, undoubtedly, already exists. Everything now depends on the political will of the West.

The achievement of an agreement in Vienna would make it possible in future to begin discussion of other specific issues affecting European military detente, which are of interest to the sides.

The improvement of the political climate in Europe is one of the most important peace achievements of the last decade. This was particularly apparent during our recent visit to the Federal Republic of Germany.

There is hardly any other country in Europe which would present on the road to establishing relations so many obstacles—objective and subjective—and where each step would be so difficult. However, relations between the USSR and the FRG today, without shutting one's eyes to negative factors, have become one of the main elements of stability in Europe, of detente on the continent.

A long road in the promotion of relations has been travelled by the Soviet Union and France; our ties are positively developing in all areas with Italy, Sweden and Austria, not to mention our neighbour-friendly Finland.

The visit to the Soviet Union by the Turkish Prime Minister, Mr. Ecevit, has made a practical contribution to the advancement of peaceful cooperation between the participating countries of the all-European conference. The talks with him and the signing of a political document on the principles of good-neighbourliness and friendly cooperation between the USSR and Turkey are an important stage in the development of our relations along the road charted way back in the past by Lenin and Atatürk.

In general I agree with the words of Federal Chancellor Schmidt who declared recently from the rostrum of the General Assembly that there is significantly more mutual trust in Europe now than there has ever been in recent decades.

But this common gain of the peace-loving states of Europe must be constantly buttressed, strengthened and extended. This is especially important now that the international situation is again worsening. It is Europe that can show in practice how nations should coexist, cooperate and work together.

The struggle for a lasting peace is not only a matter for governments, but also for peoples. Back in the middle of the last century Karl Marx appealed to the working class to master the mysteries of international politics and fight vigorously for peace among nations. This idea lives on in the consciousness and actions of the broad working masses and their political vanguard.

The vital interests of the working people of all countries demand that all the positive achievements of the last few years in the world arena should not be discarded, and that efforts be made to advance towards a genuinely lasting peace for all nations. By the combined efforts of all peace-loving forces this aim can be achieved and we believe it will be achieved.

Comrades, the growing cooperation of the peoples of fraternal socialist countries is today a very important integral part of international life.

Soviet Byelorussia is an active builder of remarkable and durable bridges of friendship that extend over the waters of the Bug, across the borders of the Soviet Union to other socialist countries. The participation of your enterprises in international socialist integration, your lively friendly contacts with the provinces of Poland, regions of Czechoslovakia, districts of the GDR and Bulgaria, and with other socialist countries are a convincing testimony to this.

The flights of international space crews are becoming a striking symbol of the new level of cooperation among the socialist countries. Recently we honoured the first cosmonaut of socialist Czechoslovakia. Joint flights with representatives of other socialist countries are in the offing. So let us wish the space heroes great successes. They are truly carrying high the banner of socialism, peace and international friendship over the earth!

In conclusion, dear citizens of Minsk, I would like to tell you that my latest visit to your beautiful city and its remarkable people has left me with a feeling of deep satisfaction.

Allow me now to read out a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR "On Conferment of the Honorable Title of Hero-City on the City of Minsk".

(Leonid Brezhnev reads out the Decree by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.)

Permit me on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to present this high award to the city of Minsk.

(Leonid Brezhnev attaches the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal to the banner of hero-city Minsk.)

Dear comrades, I once more warmly congratulate you and wish all those present in this hall and all working people of Minsk and Soviet Byelorussia great creative successes in the efforts to carry out the decisions of the 25th Congress of the CPSU and the targets of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, as well as personal wellbeing and happiness.

Glory to the hero-city of Minsk!

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE
PRESENTATION OF THE HIGHEST PERUVIAN
AWARD—THE GRAND CROSS OF THE SUN OF
PERU ORDER**

June 26, 1978

On behalf of Alexei Nikolayevich Kosygin, Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko and on my own behalf I beg you Mr. Minister to convey to the President of friendly Peru, Francisco Morales Bermúdez, and to the government of your country our gratitude for these high awards.

We regard them as new evidence of good relations between our two countries.

Allow me to express the confidence that these relations will continue effectively to serve the cause of mutual understanding and cooperation between the Soviet and Peruvian peoples and the interests of peace and international security.

We are pleased to see that Peru's leadership, for its part, highly values the present state of Soviet-Peruvian relations and prospects for their development.

I beg you Mr. Minister to convey on behalf of the Soviet leadership to President Francisco Morales our sincere wishes for his good health and for success in his activities aimed at strengthening the political and economic independence of the Republic of Peru and for the Peruvian people's wellbeing and prosperity.

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE DINNER IN
HONOUR OF DIDIER RATSIRAKA, PRESIDENT
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF
MADAGASCAR**

June 29, 1978

Esteemed Comrade Ratsiraka,
Esteemed guests,
Comrades,

It gives me great pleasure to extend my heartfelt greetings to the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, a country with which the Soviet Union is linked by bonds of mutual respect and trust, bonds of friendship.

Madagascar is located quite a distance away from the Soviet Union. But the Soviet people have always followed with a feeling of sympathy the heroic struggle, which your people waged for freedom and independence.

We rejoice at the deep-going socio-economic changes taking place in Madagascar. And from the bottom of our hearts we wish its people big successes in the implementation of the charter of the socialist revolution—this ideological, political and economic programme of transition to the road of socialist orientation. We know that this charter has been drawn up under your personal direction, comrade President.

Our sincere respect is evoked by the active anti-imperialist course pursued by the Democratic Republic of Madagascar in the international arena.

We sympathise with the striving to strengthen the Organisation of African Unity on an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial foundation. We value the consistent, irreconcilable stand of Madagascar vis-à-vis the racist and colonial regimes in the south of Africa.

At the present time, Africa is the object of very close and, I should say, unhealthy interest on the part of the forces of imperialism. Meetings devoted to the discussion of African problems follow one after another in the Western capitals, just as in the

ill-famed colonial times. One thing is unclear: who authorised them to speak and pass decisions on behalf of the Africans, to include Africa, regardless of geography, into the sphere of action of the North-Atlantic bloc? Who asked them to interfere grossly by armed force in the Zaire events and to form the so-called inter-African forces, intended to kill Africans with the help of Africans?

Our principled assessment of all these actions is contained in the recently published statement of the Soviet Government on Africa. I shall state briefly here: imperialist designs vis-à-vis Africa are dangerous. They are dangerous for the African peoples, for their desire for a better, free life. They are dangerous for the cause of peace and detente.

As to the Soviet Union, it sides with the national liberation movements in Africa, as in the other areas of the world, for that matter. We support the just liberation struggle of the peoples. But this, of course, in no way means that the USSR is opposed to the efforts, including diplomatic steps, aimed at achieving a peaceful solution of the problems that arise, if such a solution meets the legitimate interests of the peoples.

We do not have selfish interests in Africa. We come out firmly against the imperialist monopolies' pillage of the natural resources of these countries. We are resolute opponents of any attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the African states, just as in those of any other nations. The Soviet Union is against the creation of military blocs and division of the African nations into opposing groupings, against the fanning up of territorial and other disputes in Africa, remaining from the colonial times.

As far as I understand, we have common views with Madagascar on the task of strengthening peace and international security. You, Comrade President, know, apparently, about the enormous amount of work performed by the Soviet Union in that direction. We have come forth in the United Nations with a broad programme of concrete measures aimed at solving the problem of disarmament.

And we are prepared to solve it from different angles. We realise, specifically, Madagascar's desire that the Indian Ocean, where your island is located, should become a genuine zone of peace. I can assure you that this is also our sincere desire.

Our meeting is fresh evidence of the growing relations between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Madagascar. We believe that these relations are developing well, although, of course, the possibilities of economic, commercial, cultural and other types of cooperation are far from being exhausted yet. There is still much to be done here by both sides to the mutual benefit of both nations.

Dear comrades, I should like to mention one more thing today. Early this July the people of fraternal Vietnam, and together with them millions of their friends throughout the world, will mark the second anniversary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

We, the Soviet people, respect and love the people of Vietnam and its battle-hardened leaders for their courage, adherence to principles, profound loyalty to the ideals of socialism. Our friendship with Vietnam matured in the difficult years of the struggle which that heroic country waged against the imperialist interventionists. It is today assuming new forms and depths in conditions of peaceful socialist construction in a united and free Vietnam.

Today, when the Vietnamese people are subjected to flagrant and unjust outside pressure, we again assure fraternal Vietnam of our resolute support for its efforts aimed at building a new society, improving the living conditions of the people, upholding its inalienable sovereign rights and consolidating the international positions of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, reliable advanced post of socialism in South-East Asia.

We have been, we are and we shall be with Vietnam. Our common cause, the cause of lasting peace, independence of the peoples and social progress, meets the vital interests of thousands of millions of people on earth.

Comrade President, permit me to express the conviction that your visit to the USSR and our negotiations will promote effectively the further consolidation and expansion of friendly relations in all spheres, and also the invigoration of our joint foreign policy efforts for the sake of peace and progress.

I propose a toast:

To the further successes of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar and its revolution!

To the indestructible friendship between our countries and peoples!

To the health of President Didier Ratsiraka and his wife!

To the health of all the guests from Madagascar!

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE
PRESENTATION OF THE ORDER OF THE RED
BANNER TO W. JARUZELSKI, MEMBER OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE POLISH
UNITED WORKERS' PARTY AND MINISTER OF
NATIONAL DEFENCE OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC**

June 30, 1978

Dear comrades,

We are long acquainted with our esteemed guest, Wojciech Jaruzelski, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and Minister of National Defence of People's Poland. But today's meeting is a special occasion. Our guest has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner for combat service in the joint struggle during the Second World War, and the major contribution he has made to the strengthening of the military cooperation of the Armed Forces of the USSR and the Polish People's Republic in the post-war period.

Comrade Jaruzelski has shown by his deeds that, for him, as a Communist, to be a patriot means to be an internationalist as well. Platoon commander Jaruzelski showed his loyalty to his conviction by his combat exploits when fighting side by side with the Soviet soldiers against fascism. In carrying out the line of the Polish United Workers' Party today, General Jaruzelski is taking an active part in the collective efforts aimed at strengthening the military organisation of the Warsaw Treaty—the reliable shield of the socialist community. His efforts are highly appreciated by the Soviet people.

We received Comrade Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, in Moscow a comparatively short time ago. We agreed on new major steps that will deepen the cooperation of our parties and countries in all spheres. And now, in practice, too, we can see how its horizons are widening.

I have in mind, first of all, the fact that a new international socialist crew, one of the members of which is Miroslaw Hermaszewski, a splendid son of People's Poland, is working efficiently out in space. This new space expedition is one more proof of the strength and creative possibilities of socialism, one more important landmark in mankind's cognition of earthly and celestial secrets.

In presenting you with this distinguished award, I wish to congratulate you, dear Comrade Jaruzelski, from the bottom of my heart.

I wish you good health and further fruitful work for the good of socialist Poland, for the benefit of indestructible Soviet-Polish friendship!

REPORT DELIVERED AT THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

July 3, 1978

Comrades,

This plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, devoted to the further development of agriculture, has assembled at a historic time—in the opening year of the seventh decade of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The October Revolution holds a special place in the solution of agrarian problems, in the destinies of the peasantry of our country and not only of our country for that matter. The working masses, all progressives in the world know that the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia was simultaneously the beginning of the deliverance of the peasantry, numerically the largest toiling class of the globe, from oppression, from lack of political rights and from ignorance.

For the first time in many centuries of history, the Party of Lenin actually delivered the peasantry from exploitation and poverty and put it on the socialist road. Our enemies have concocted many fables of all sorts about the past and present of the Soviet countryside. But no matter what they may say or write, the history of the 20th century, the heroic path traversed by the Soviet peasantry and also that pursued by the peasantry of other socialist countries have convincingly shown that for the correct and just solution of the peasant question there is one true road—the road of building socialism in the countryside; there is one genuine science—Marxist-Leninist teaching on the agrarian-peasant question.

It is noteworthy, comrades, that just over a month ago we marked the 55th anniversary of the publication of one of Lenin's main agrarian works, an outstanding fruit of Lenin's thought—his article *On Cooperation*, in which he pointed out to the working masses of the countryside the high road to a new life. The peasantry of our country was the first to embark upon this road. Today Lenin's ideas about cooperation are inspiring millions of peasants

abroad, particularly in the countries which have cast off the yoke of colonialism.

Lenin's teaching on the agrarian question and the ideas and principles of his cooperation plan have been and remain in the arsenal of our Party. The CPSU invariably proceeds from them and develops them further with due regard for the specific historical circumstances. The teaching and behests of Lenin will continue to be our true compass in shaping and carrying out plans for the further development of agriculture.

I. Agrarian Policy of the Party in Action: Main Results

Comrades,

The present agrarian policy of our Party stems, as is known, from the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. It scientifically reflects the new conditions and requirements of socialist society. The present agrarian policy is the Leninist strategy and tactics the Party is pursuing in the field of agriculture under developed socialism.

Keeping firmly to the course it mapped out, the Party has solved a wide range of agrarian problems. The agriculture of the country has made great strides ahead in economic and social development. This was endorsed and highly appraised by the supreme forum of our Party—the 25th CPSU Congress. The congress, as is well known, also determined the tasks of the Party for developing agriculture in the tenth five-year period.

More than two years have passed since the congress. In presenting today the question of the development of agriculture for consideration by this plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the Politbureau had the following in view.

First, to concentrate the attention of the Party on solving the most urgent problems of agricultural production and abolishing its bottlenecks, on more effectively using the resources we have invested and are investing in the growth of this sector; to mobilise the Party and the people for successfully fulfilling the five-year plan as regards both increasing the output and purchases of farm produce and carrying out the outlined programme for strengthening the material and technical basis of the countryside.

Second, to establish the main directions of the further development of agriculture and of the sectors ensuring its industrialisation and scientific and technical progress, and to discuss certain questions of economics and of improving planning and social development in the countryside. This will be of key importance for elaborating the Eleventh Five-Year Plan and for successful fulfilment of the Party's task of turning agriculture into a highly developed sector of the economy.

As you know, last year the Politbureau set up a competent commission to make thorough all-round preparations for this plenary meeting of the Central Committee.

What are, above all, the main results of the implementation of our agrarian policy since the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee?

Tackling a strategic task—to ensure the steady supply of foodstuffs for the country and of agricultural raw materials for industry—the Party saw its prime duty to lie in considerably strengthening the material and technical basis of agriculture by stepping up the rates of mechanisation, of the use of chemicals and of land improvement and the integrated solution of questions connected with the development of this sector.

Everything possible was done to intensify agricultural production. In the first place, we adopted a new approach to investments in agriculture. We regard this matter as the cornerstone for the further development of agricultural production and we made it a rule systematically to increase these investments as much as possible. The Party decided to redistribute the funds allocated for the national economy, ensured a sharp increase in capital investments in agricultural production and a considerable rise in the share of agriculture in overall investments. Whereas under the Seventh Five-Year Plan, that is before the March Plenary Meeting, the share of agriculture constituted 20 per cent, it was 23 per cent under the Eighth Five-Year Plan, 26 per cent under the Ninth Five-Year Plan and it is more than 27 per cent under the Tenth Five-Year Plan provisions.

In this period we did much to create an up-to-date industrial basis for agriculture. Previously we virtually did not have such large specialised self-contained sectors as water conservancy and land improvement, livestock and fodder production engineering, agricultural construction, and the mixed feed and microbiological industry. Today these exist. The manufacture of tractors and agricultural machinery, the production of mineral fertilizers and the processing industry have also greatly developed. All this taken together constitutes a growing industrial complex aimed at ensuring the steady growth of agricultural production.

The basic production assets in the socialised sector of agriculture have reached 183,000 million roubles, 2.8 times the level of 1965. The machine and tractor fleet of the collective and state farms has been almost wholly renewed, it has improved qualitatively and the proportion of up-to-date machinery of greater power, load capacity and productivity has risen. During these years the total power capacity of agricultural enterprises has increased from 232 million h.p. to 525 million h.p., that is to say, it has more than doubled, and the electrical power available per worker at collective and state farms has increased 2.5 times. The electrification of agriculture is proceeding at a vigorous pace.

The Party attached great importance to the increased use of chemicals and to land improvement. One may say without exaggeration that neither in our country nor in foreign practice has the development of these aspects of agriculture ever been seen on such a huge scale. The increased use of chemicals and land improvement have been elevated in our country to the rank of major nationwide tasks. Last year our agriculture received 77 million tons of mineral fertilizer as against 27 million tons in 1965. Production of these will continue to grow in order to meet fully the requirements of agriculture. The area of irrigated and drained land in our country has nearly doubled and today our collective and state farms have more than 27 million hectares of such land. About 40,000 million roubles will be invested in land improvement in the Tenth Five-Year Plan period.

Such is a brief summary of the great job of work which has been done during these years to strengthen the material and technical basis of agriculture. Of course, we still have many matters for concern and bottlenecks in this field and we fully realise that it will continue to be necessary to devote maximum attention to providing agriculture with materials and technology in every field—both quantitatively and, more important still, qualitatively.

At the same time, it will be necessary to be even more exacting as regards everything concerning the skilled and effective use of the basis that has been created. Today this is one of the prime tasks of rural Party organisations and of all workers in agriculture.

The development of the material and technical basis is closely connected with the training of personnel, particularly specialists and machine operators. Considerable work has been done in this respect too during the past period. The situation there is now as follows: the affairs of the collective and state farms are being managed by well-educated cadres of specialists and technology is being handled by a vast army of machine operators. Specialists with higher or secondary education constitute 93.5 per cent of collective farm chairmen and 98.3 per cent of state farm directors. More than 1,600,000 specialists are now employed in agriculture and the number of machine operators has risen to 4,225,000. In agriculture today one worker out of five is a machine operator. Technical progress has given rise to many other categories of educated and qualified workers in the countryside.

As was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, the increased deliveries of machinery and other material resources have made it possible to raise markedly labour productivity at collective and state farms. According to the USSR Central Statistical Board, in 1977 productivity per worker was 69 per cent higher than in 1965, which amounts to an annual saving of labour of 16 million people.

The CPSU Central Committee has paid great attention to economic measures to bring about an upsurge in agriculture, particularly

to improving the planning of production and the purchases of farm output, price formation, crediting and labour remuneration. Our aim is that all the great diversity of economic relations within enterprises and on the scale of the whole agro-industrial complex should create a community, a unity of the interests of the state, of collective farms and of the direct producers. Lenin regarded a correct combination of the interests of all sides in the production and sale of goods as a major principle of socialist economic management. It must be said that the economic life of the collective and state farms and the material wellbeing of agricultural workers began to improve noticeably in the very first years following the March Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee. In 1977 the gross income of collective farms was double the average yearly figure for the Seventh Five-Year Plan period. The state farm system as a whole has been operating profitably in the past 12 years.

In present-day conditions the development of productive forces in agriculture is particularly closely bound up with solving social questions of life in the countryside. Due to a number of reasons for many years we did not succeed in properly regulating the system of payment for work in the countryside. At the present stage we have found a more suitable solution of this important problem. I have primarily in view the transition to guaranteed payment of the work of collective farmers. Of key importance are the measures of the Party aimed at reducing the differences between the wages of agricultural and industrial workers. In the past 12 years payment for the work of collective farmers has doubled and for state farm workers has increased by 90 per cent.

Major steps have been taken during these years in the field of pensions and social insurance for collective farmers. To be more specific, I shall cite the following figures: in 1977 pensions and allowances paid to collective farmers from the central national fund exceeded the sum of 4,000 million roubles, over four times more than in 1965. There is no need to prove how important these measures are, measures which concern millions of people, particularly those who have devoted all their lives and their labour to the common cause of developing and strengthening the collective farm system.

The rise in the level of the material wellbeing, culture and everyday life of the rural population is a noteworthy feature of our time. Here are general data on this score. From 1965 to 1977 the total income of a collective farm family rose by 80 per cent. In the same period per capita commodity sales in the countryside rose from 222 roubles to 492 roubles a year, or more than doubled. State and collective farm investments in non-production projects, that is to say, mostly in the social sphere, exceeded 40,000 million roubles in these years. This is three-quarters of all the investments made in the entire history of the Soviet state.

The task of the Party is to pay unflagging attention to and display constant concern for the further growth of the living standards of agricultural workers and for continually increasing the amenities of our villages.

The final production results are the main criterion of all economic activity. What are these results in agriculture?

I shall begin, as usual, with gross output. In the past seven years (1971-1977) the average yearly volume of gross output reached 116,000 million roubles as against 81,400 million roubles in the years preceding the March Plenary Meeting. The per-hectare yields and the output of all crops increased. This may be seen from the following table.

Gross output and productivity of crops
(annual average for all categories of farms)

	Gross output (million tons)		Productivity (centners * per hectare)	
	1959-1965	1971-1977	1959-1965	1971-1977
Grain	128.1	189.6	10.3	15.1
Raw cotton	4.84	7.91	20.6	27.7
Sugar beet				
(industrial)	56.8	81.9	168	229
Sunflower seeds	4.62	5.86	10.4	12.9
Flax fibre				
(thousand tons)	404	466	2.6	3.8
Potatoes	82.7	88.2	94	114
Other vegetables	16.5	23.3	113	141

* One centner equals 100 kg.-Ed.

Favourable trends could be observed in the development of animal husbandry as well. The average annual gross output of livestock products over the same period increased by 45 per cent. The number and productivity of livestock at collective and state farms increased. The output of meat increased from an average of 9,200,000 tons in 1959-1965 to 14 million tons in 1971-1977, milk from 63,900,000 to 88,800,000 tons respectively, and eggs rose to 53,500 million, an increase of 90 per cent.

These figures show the results of the great amount of work being energetically done today to intensify livestock farming. But we must take even more radical measures to speed up progress in this field.

Agriculture has a great role to play in the practical implementation of the Party's general policy aimed at substantially raising the people's standard of living. If we assess the results achieved in

this field from this viewpoint, it will be quite clear that the living standards of Soviet people are steadily rising, including as regards the extent to which we are meeting their most vital needs, that is, their need of foodstuffs and consumer goods.

I have in front of me an official report from the USSR Central Statistical Board. It says, for instance, that sales of meat products to the population through the state and cooperative trade network almost doubled from 1965 to 1977 and rose to an average of 10 million tons a year. Sales of milk also almost doubled, that is, they rose from 15,400,000 tons to 30 million tons, of butter from 702,000 to 1,276,000 tons, sales of eggs rose from 10,300 million to 34,000 million, that is to say, more than trebled, sales of vegetables rose by 59 per cent and of fruit and gourds by 40 per cent. Sales of all other farm products also increased.

Per capita consumption of products is an important, although not the sole, index of living standards. We have made progress in this field too. Per capita consumption of meat and meat products despite a population growth of 28 million rose by 16 kg and amounted to 57 kg in 1977.

Consumption of milk and dairy products, of eggs, vegetables, gourds and fruit has noticeably grown. Consumption of cereal products and potatoes is steadily falling, a fact which testifies to the improved diet of the population. The consumption of non-food products made of agricultural raw materials, such as cotton, woollen and flax fabrics, has also been steadily growing.

This situation is encouraging but does not make us complacent. We are well aware that there is much room for improvement in this field. The Politbureau of the Central Committee and the Government are aware of this and never relax their efforts to meet the growing needs of the Soviet people to a fuller extent.

II. Raise in Every Possible Way the Level of Agricultural Production

Comrades, the results we have achieved and the experience we have gained in managing agriculture under present-day conditions convincingly confirm the scientific soundness and vitality of the Leninist agrarian policy pursued by the CPSU. One may draw the logical conclusion that the policy formulated by the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and elaborated at subsequent plenary meetings and congresses must be continued.

The main task we set for agriculture is to achieve the comprehensive and dynamic development of all its sectors and to ensure stable supplies of foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials for the country, so that the growth in their production will secure a further substantial rise in the people's standard of living. Simultaneously we must redouble our efforts in tackling the task of obliterating

distinctions between the material, cultural and living conditions in town and country.

To this end in 1981-1985 we must ensure an annual average grain harvest of from 238 to 243 million tons and by 1990 increase it to an average of one ton per capita. Meat production should increase to 19,500,000 tons by the end of the next five-year period. The output of milk and eggs must be substantially increased. This will make it possible to increase per capita consumption of the most valuable foodstuffs and to come much closer to scientifically rational norms by the end of the 11th Five-Year Plan period.

I would like to emphasise that we have set fairly high targets for the output of major agricultural products and for their absolute rates of growth in the next five-year period. We must also ensure a growth in the material and technical resources of agriculture in order to have a firm basis for attaining those targets.

This applies above all to capital investments. We must firmly adhere to the Party's fundamental policy of steadily increasing capital investments in agriculture. Consequently, their share in the overall volume of resources allocated for the development of the country's economy under the 11th Five-Year Plan must not be lower than the one achieved. The State Planning Committee of the USSR must take this into account in drawing up the new five-year plan.

Comrades, although today's plenary meeting is concerned with agriculture, we always remember the leading role of our industry. We are investing in it and shall continue to invest as much as it needs.

The experience of past years shows that the capacity of the industries servicing the countryside must be increased at a faster pace. So the new five-year plan must make adequate allocations for the development of agricultural machine-building, of the production of fertilizer and chemical plant-protection agents, of the processing industry and everything related to the agro-industrial complex. This approach fully corresponds to the directives of the 25th Congress of the Party.

Our task in the next five-year period is to complete the comprehensive mechanisation of the cultivation of all major crops and to raise much higher the level of mechanisation in livestock farming. To this end we must continue to do everything to increase the supplies of tractors, lorries, combine harvesters and all other agricultural machines to the farms. The output of tractors and lorries in this country is growing and agriculture must receive a substantial portion of this increase.

Simultaneously we shall have to tackle in a more radical way the problem of the quality of farm machinery. You know that shortcomings in this field were criticised at the October 1976 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee. But the position is improving slowly. The production continues of outmoded models of tractors and of many other types of machines for crop cultivation

and livestock breeding, which do not meet modern standards in terms of productivity, economy and reliability. There is still a serious lag in the production of sets of machinery for loading tractors and for the introduction of new technology. So the plans for the remaining years of the current five-year plan and for the 1981-1985 period should envisage a number of large-scale measures to raise the technical level of agricultural machine-building.

This applies above all to the structure of tractor production. The task is to supply collective and state farms with the most efficient and powerful tractors with the necessary sets of mounted and trailed machines and implements. Here we attach great importance to speeding up the retooling of the Volgograd, Pavlodar and Lipetsk tractor plants.

In the field of combine harvester production we shall have to take urgent steps to modernise grain harvesters manufactured at Soviet plants in order to rectify faults in their design and increase their productivity. In the next few years we also must begin production of more powerful combine harvesters of improved designs, taking into account foreign know-how. Particular importance should be attached to increasing the output of self-propelled and trailed reapers and machines for gathering the non-grain part of the harvest.

An important trend in agricultural machine-building is to ensure the full mechanisation of fodder production. Plants making fodder harvesting and processing machines must be modernised and new powerful enterprises built, involving other industries in this important task.

The problem of transportation of agricultural produce remains very acute. The volume of such traffic is steadily growing, while the lorry fleet in the countryside is expanding slowly. Moreover, farms as a rule receive lorries that are not specially designed for carrying farm produce. However difficult, the problem of transport for the countryside must be tackled in a radical way. Specifically, we must organise the production of high-capacity and special-purpose lorries for agriculture.

There are many other questions involved in the further mechanisation of agriculture. It is impossible to report on them all in detail to the plenary meeting. At the same time, it is quite clear that industrialisation of farming is one of our major tasks. We have to bear in mind that in terms of fixed assets per worker and power supply per worker agriculture is still lagging considerably behind industry.

During preparations for the plenary meeting the CPSU Central Committee made a thorough study of all this and adopted two resolutions which we believe to be very important on measures for the further development of comprehensive mechanisation and supply to collective and state farms of highly efficient equipment

and machinery for crop cultivation, livestock breeding and fodder production. You have received these resolutions.

We must continue to increase our insistence on improving the use of all the machinery supplied to agriculture. We must not tolerate a situation where many collective and state farms do not observe the rules for the operation and storage of machinery. Many machines stand idle because of inadequate repair and maintenance. Many machines wear out and are discarded prematurely. There is no proper order in accounting and consumption of fuel and lubricants. There is a shortage of machine operators and the coefficient of the shift operation of tractors is low. All this increases production costs and is very detrimental to the collective and state farm economy and to the country as a whole.

Last year the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR adopted a special resolution on improving the use of farm machinery. The Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Water Conservancy, Soyuzselkhoztekhnika, all local economic and government agencies and Party and other public organisations must work more vigorously to carry out the measures outlined in that resolution.

Among the measures aimed at intensifying agricultural production most serious attention should be given to further developing the production of mineral fertiliser and of means of plant protection. No rapid growth can be achieved in agricultural production without this. It would be wrong to say that our chemical industry is not sufficiently advanced. On the contrary, we may take pride in the fact that in a short space of time our country has built up a powerful industry for chemicalisation of agriculture. The chemical industry can now tackle bigger tasks.

Taking account of the planned output of crops and livestock products, the deliveries of mineral fertiliser to farms in the next five-year period are expected to amount to 135-140 million tons and of fodder additives to seven million tons. But quantity is not the only thing that matters. Emphasis should be laid on improving the quality of products. The increase of capacity and growth in the production of mineral fertiliser should be mainly ensured by an increase in the output of phosphate, concentrated and compound fertilisers. A more effective solution should be found for the problem of lime production, particularly for the needs of the non-black-earth zone.

Special mention should be made of herbicides and pesticides. Their supply still fails to meet the demands of agriculture. The output is exceptionally low and the range is limited in the production of herbicides for the treatment of plantations of rice, sugar beet, potatoes, cotton and vegetables. No herbicides for soy beans and sunflower are being produced at all. This is leading to substantial losses in agriculture. This situation should be rectified. We must work out a state programme for herbicides, plan research in

this field, build production capacities and also extend the production and application of microbiological means of plant protection.

We are doing everything to increase the supplies of mineral fertiliser to farms. At the same time, we must be more exacting towards farm managers and agricultural agencies as regards the use of mineral fertilisers, as well as the maximum accumulation and introduction into the soil of organic fertilisers.

Great losses and even the spoiling of fertilisers are tolerated at many collective and state farms, the agrochemical rules for their use are ignored and, what is most important, we are still not getting the proper benefit. A role of no small importance in all this is played by the disparateness and insufficient effectiveness of the agrochemical service. The country still has virtually no uniform, scientifically-organised system of agrochemical service. In some places the use of chemicals is dealt with by Selkhoztekhnika, in others by inter-farm associations, while in certain places matters are left to follow their own course. To introduce order into such an important business, it is expedient to make the agrochemical service both centrally and locally part of the system of agricultural bodies, handing over to them the whole production basis established for this purpose.

Far more attention should be paid to farm aviation, which already today is playing a significant role in the drive for increased crop yields. It is carrying out more than 30 per cent of all the work in the use of chemicals. This is a promising trend and our task is to develop and strengthen the material and technical basis of farm aviation.

Land improvement should be promoted as persistently as ever. The central task here should be the better use of ameliorated land together with the overcoming of the lag which arose in its development. Harvests raised on irrigated land often differ only slightly from the results of dry farming. This is inadmissible. Large sums are invested in land improvement, a sufficiently powerful production basis has been set up and more cadres have been trained. This entitles us to demand that agricultural and irrigation workers should secure a high return of produce from irrigated and drained lands. In future only comprehensive development of newly ameliorated areas must be ensured. Wherever possible, such areas should be concentrated in specialised farms or inter-farm associations so that really effective farming can be organised.

Our science should make a big contribution to solving the tasks of the further development of agriculture. Shortly after the 25th Congress of the Party measures were drawn up with the extensive participation of scientists for enhancing the effectiveness of agricultural science and strengthening its ties with production. The resolution which the CPSU Central Committee and the Government adopted on this question defines the main directions along which science

should develop with the aim of bringing about an upsurge in agriculture.

Today I wish only to stress that we should pay ever increasing attention to scientific research institutions, to obtain greater results from their work and in every possible way to improve the introduction of the achievements of science into production by putting it on a good planned basis. It is very important that not only agricultural scientists but also the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Academics of Sciences of the Union Republics and scientists in all branches of learning should continue to take an active part in tackling the many-sided problems of accelerating scientific and technological progress in agriculture. The upsurge of agriculture, as we have noted more than once, is a task for the entire people, it is a common concern.

The whole course of the country's economic development and the steady rise in the material wellbeing of the people are now bringing to the forefront the task of a swifter upsurge in livestock farming. It is quite natural that the rise in the people's wellbeing in recent times has led to an increased demand precisely for livestock products. This has given rise to a situation where, despite a marked increase in the production of meat, milk and other products and an improvement in the organisation of work in this sector, the present level of development of livestock farming does not meet the swiftly growing needs.

The Central Committee of the Party analysed in great detail questions of the further development of livestock farming and drew up a set of measures for the increased production of meat, milk and other products. Resolutions were adopted on a number of questions connected with the development of this sector and members of the Central Committee had the opportunity of studying them. The point is, by increasing the head of livestock, to raise the productivity of all kinds of cattle and poultry everywhere as quickly as possible, to go over to intensive livestock farming techniques and to turn it into a modern highly efficient sector.

The bringing about of a new upsurge in livestock farming demands that great attention now be paid to this sector by the whole Party, by all our ministries and departments, by leaders of collective and state farms and by all the working people in the countryside.

The immediate task is to increase the production of meat. To solve this task we must make full use of all our possibilities and reserves and work for the growth in production of all kinds of meat.

In most areas of the country the solution of the meat problem is linked, above all, with increasing the production of beef. This is determined, on the one hand, by the rising demand of the population for beef and, on the other, by the specific features of the structure of our fodder resources and natural conditions. We have

extensive areas of meadows and pastures and great possibilities of producing coarse and succulent fodder. Food industry enterprises provide a good deal of by-products. All this can be used for raising and fattening cattle with the greatest return.

Of all the reserves in raising beef production that of increasing the weight of slaughtered cattle and reducing periods of fattening should be singled out. The task was recently set of boosting weight conditions to 350-370 kg. Many regions and republics have successfully coped with it. The average weight of cattle sold by collective and state farms to the state has reached 355 kg for the country as a whole, and 400-440 kg in several regions and republics. As a result of this the country is today receiving more than one million extra tons of meat a year.

However, a considerable portion of the cattle arrives at the meat-packing plants virtually unfattened, with low weight and ill-conditioned. Many calves are being slaughtered in some areas. It is necessary to effect everywhere as quickly as possible a transition to intensive stockraising techniques and to send animals to slaughter only after they have been fattened to a weight of 400-450 kg. I think many districts, whole regions, territories and republics will be able to solve this task already in the current five-year plan period. It is necessary in the localities to carry out specific work without delay, to determine where and how the cattle of each collective and state farm will be fattened intensively, at specialised farms or on their own premises, or at inter-farm establishments.

Valuable experience in going over to intensive techniques of meat production has been accumulated in the Voronezh and Orenburg regions, in particular regions of the Ukrainian SSR, in Moldavia and elsewhere. Specialised cattle-fattening enterprises there are already supplying more than half the beef. One asks oneself: are conditions there better than in the vast majority of other republics and regions? It is not a question of the particular conditions but of the level of organisational and managerial work.

For a radical solution of the problem of beef production more energetic work must be done to set up an independent sector of specialised stockraising for slaughter, using pasture lands and establishing fodder production on a sound basis with the help of irrigation. Many farms in Kazakhstan, the Urals, Siberia and the Volga region are taking this line and it is yielding good results. Big possibilities exist on newly irrigated land in the republics of Central Asia, in the South and in the non-black-earth zone of the RSFSR, as well as in Byelorussia. An extensive programme for developing stockraising for slaughter has been drawn up and is being implemented in the Ukraine. In the immediate future this sector must be developed in such a way that it will become a major source of ensuring high-quality meat for the country.

The intensive development of pigbreeding is equally important in building up meat production. It occupies a significant place in

shaping the country's meat resources. Much has been done in recent years to introduce advanced technology in the production of pork. Large pigbreeding enterprises have been set up at state farms and collective farms and on an inter-farm basis. The experience of their operation shows that going over to industrial methods of pork production makes it possible to increase the gains in weight and reduce the fattening periods, and to produce pork with minimum expenditure of fodder, labour and money. Within the bounds of our possibilities we must continue to create such enterprises anew or on the basis of modernising existing farms and steadily to put pigbreeding on an industrial basis.

But I would like once again to sound a warning against making mistakes. In promoting this trend, it would be wrong to slacken our attention to pork production at non-specialised farms. Many of them have a good basis for this and the skilled staff they need, and they can fatten pigs not only on grain but also on potatoes, root vegetables and other succulent and green fodder. All this has to be used thriftily with the aim of increasing meat production and obtaining litters both for public needs and for sale to the population.

As you know, an extensive decision was recently taken on developing poultry farming. It opens up great possibilities for augmenting meat resources. The intention is to about double the proportion of poultry meat in total meat production. Until recently priority in poultry farming was given to egg production and the problem of supplying the population with eggs has in the main been solved. The assets in this sector are now being concentrated on increasing the production of broiler meat. Large enterprises for raising chickens, ducks, turkeys and geese will be put into operation in the next few years. At the same time, a good deal can also be done at the existing mechanised poultry farms by modernising them and expanding their capacities. Wider use must also be made of the possibilities of raising broilers on the basis of co-operation between mechanised poultry farms and collective and state farms, as is being done in the Crimean and Dniepropetrovsk regions and in the Krasnodar Territory.

Attention should be paid to the large reserves in sheep farming. There have been some successes in developing this sector—the head of livestock has grown, its quality has improved, and the production and purchase of wool, goat's hair and karakul pelts have increased. But in several republics and regions sheep farming is growing very slowly, whereas in the non-black-earth zone of the RSFSR and in certain areas of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia and the Baltic republics it is being curtailed altogether. This is wrong, a mistake. All the conditions exist in our country for producing more, much more mutton, wool, sheepskins and furs and for more fully meeting the country's needs of these products.

We should continue to obtain the bulk of our mutton and wool from pasture grazing. It is precisely sheep farming that makes it possible for us to use the enormous expanses of our steppe and semi-desert pasture lands with the greatest return. It is therefore necessary to take more energetic steps to strengthen the production basis of sheep farms and to continue the work of irrigating and improving pastures. It is especially important to create renewable reserve stocks of fodder in these areas.

There should be a different approach to developing sheep farming in areas with much arable land. Here wider use must be made of industrial technology both in the maintenance of sheep and in fodder production. In this respect the Stavropol Territory, the Rostov, Yaroslavl and Belgorod regions and the Mari Autonomous Republic have useful experience.

A great deal of work faces us in further increasing milk production. Though quite great progress has been made in this direction in recent years, the quality indices of the sector remain low. Milk yields are rising slowly, there are cases of barrenness and there is virtually no reduction in the specific expenditure of labour and fodder, and consequently no lowering of production costs. Special attention should be paid to this aspect of the work of dairy farms. It is intended to raise milk yields at collective and state farms in the near future to an average for the country of at least 3,000 kg, while in areas of advanced dairy farming, where yields of 3,000-3,500 kg are already being received, the task is to reach a target of 4,000-5,000 kg of milk.

At a time when livestock farming is being steadily intensified and is being put on an industrial footing, the importance of selection and breeding pedigree stock is growing immeasurably. The Ministry of Agriculture and the All-Union Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences have considerable work to do in creating new breeds, strains and hybrids of animals and improving existing ones, in expanding the network of stockbreeding farms and using to better purpose the resources of highly productive cattle and poultry.

Reviewing the measures being taken to develop collectively-owned livestock farming, I wish to underline once more that we should also care for the individual holdings of collective farmers, workers and employees. This is an important source of augmenting food resources. The new Constitution of the USSR says that the state and collective farms provide assistance to citizens in working their small holdings. The subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises, public catering establishments and other organisations should also play a useful role in improving supplies.

In order to augment food resources we must concern ourselves more specifically with fish production by making better use of local stretches of water. There are virtually boundless possibilities here. It would be useful if the appropriate bodies were to work out measures for developing fish farming on a nationwide scale.

All that we wish to have from stockbreeding—more meat, milk and other products—all this depends in the final analysis upon an adequate supply of varied high-quality fodder. It cannot be said that these questions have received little attention in our work. But a cardinal, overall solution has not yet been found for the problem of fodder production.

Fodder production is still proceeding along primitive lines at many collective and state farms. In the adoption of modern processes and the achievements of science and technology this sector is not making such good progress as other branches are. There are few good facilities for storing fodder and this results in great losses and deterioration in its quality. According to data of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences the loss of nutritive substances in feeds caused by primitive methods of preparation and unsatisfactory storage conditions on many farms averages more than 20-30 per cent for hay, haylage and silage. The problem of protein remains unsolved. The mixed feeds industry is poorly developed. All this shows the need for major steps in organising the production of fodder, in creating in fact a modern fodder production industry. By raising the quality of fodder and observing the established techniques for its production, considerable extra livestock output resources can be obtained.

In the light of this in the course of preparing for the Central Committee's plenary meeting decisions on the comprehensive development of fodder production in the country in the period up to 1985 were worked out and adopted. They envisage measures to improve field fodder production, grass meadows and pastures, and to increase the use of fertilisers for fodder crops, as well as a considerable amount of land-reclamation work. Measures have been outlined for mechanising all the processes of fodder production, introducing advanced methods in stocking up fodder and preparing feeds, as well as putting this industry on an industrial basis.

The relevant ministries and departments have been instructed to ensure swift increase in the production and supply to farms of chemical preservatives, polymer film, feed additives, mineral salts and means for treating straw to enhance its value as fodder. To improve the quality of feeds, an extensive programme of building modern storage facilities on farms for silage, haylage, hay and root crops will be carried out, as well as building fodder yards, and a feed quality control service will be established.

Great importance is being attached to measures of an organisational nature. The production of fodder must become a more specialised branch of activity at the collective and state farms themselves, inter-farm associations must be set up for producing fodder, and agro-industrial integration must be given a boost.

Much attention is being focussed on the problem of feed protein. I want to emphasise once again that protein deficiencies in rations lead to an enormous overexpenditure of fodder. The intention is

that in the next few years collective and state farms will extend their sowing and increase their yields of grain legumes and oil-producing crops, alfalfa, clover and rapc. For supplying perennial grass seed to areas of the country where growing it presents problems, it has been thought best to organise the production of seed, especially of alfalfa, at specialised farms and associations situated mainly on irrigated and other reclaimed lands.

As you know, a decision on soya was adopted recently. We regard it as a first step in organising the large-scale production of this valuable crop. The possibilities for expanding the area under soya, especially on irrigated lands, must be explored and the technology of cultivation perfected.

Our chemical industry workers and workers in the micro-biological, pulp-and-paper, fishing, meat-and-dairy, food, medical and several other industries must make their contribution to solving the problem of protein. Appropriate assignments are being given to them and capital investments allocated.

We are seeking to ensure that all the grain which goes to meet the needs of stockbreeding is given as cattle feed that has been treated and balanced. To this end the swifter development both of the state-owned mixed feeds industry and of mixed feeds production at state and collective farms and inter-farm enterprises is envisaged.

Herc it must be noted that an absolutely wrong tendency may be observed in several places. Certain leaders at farm, district and even regional level do not pay due attention to increasing the production of hay, haylage, silage and root crops and improving their quality. They try to make up for fodder shortages by using concentrates, often at the expense of grain from state reserves. As a result the expenditure of grain for feeding livestock increases excessively, while the use of other kinds of fodder even declines.

The responsibility of staff for supplying fodder to stockbreeding farms must be enhanced. This index should be one of the main yardsticks in evaluating work on the farm. Special attention must be given to how well-stocked the farms are with their own feeds in summing up the results of socialist emulation and determining incentives for executives and specialists.

The Politbureau of the Central Committee attaches great importance to measures relating to fodder production. The need for establishing modern fodder production as a specialised branch of the national economy has now become absolutely clear. It is a matter of great national significance. A proper approach to this branch of industry must accordingly be devised, efficient fodder production planning must be introduced and plan targets given material and technological backing.

We always pay exceptional attention to grain production. As you well know, the 25th Congress of the Party designated grain production a top priority sector of work. In the first two years

of the five-year period the average annual grain harvest stood at 209,600,000 tons against the target of 210 million tons. Yet there is still a shortage of grain, especially feed grain. The demand for it is growing more rapidly than production. The great variations in gross grain output in particular years adversely affect stock-breeding.

The proposed measures I have reported above for promoting the greater use of machinery and chemicals, as well as land reclamation, make it possible to produce grain more stably and to raise the yields of grain crops every year. This is the main road. The task being posed is to raise grain yields to a national average of 20 centners per hectare in the next five-year period, while for such areas as the North Caucasus, the Ukraine, Moldavia, Byelorussia, the Baltic republics and some other places it will be feasible to attain grain yields of from 35 to 40 centners or more per hectare.

Fuller use should also be made of such a reserve as extending the area under grain crops in certain regions. This particularly applies to the non-black-earth zone where it is possible to expand the area under grain crops at the expense of less productive annual grasses and other crops.

Even more attention has to be paid to cultivating millet, buckwheat, rye and maize for grain production. A number of farms are obviously underrating these crops.

The entire arsenal of agrotechnical methods must now be directed towards obtaining maximum grain yields, raising soil fertility and improving farming standards, all potentialities and reserves should be utilised and the work of local Party, government and agricultural bodies, farm managers, specialists and rank-and-file workers at state and collective farms must be geared to this task.

I shall now dwell on questions of further advancement in certain other branches of farm production, whose output is meant to satisfy the growing needs of the country.

A great deal of work has to be done in growing beet. Recently we adopted a detailed decision on this question, with which you are obviously already acquainted. In the next five-year period a considerable increase in gross sugar-beet output is planned on the basis of higher yields to be obtained by using new techniques.

The capacities of sugar refineries are to be expanded, making it possible to shorten the sugar refining season and lower the sugar losses during storage and processing.

On the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party the USSR Council of Ministers in conjunction with local authorities is also working out special programmes for producing more sunflower seed, cotton, potatoes, fruit and vegetables.

In the 11th Five-Year Plan period a sharp increase in sunflower seed production must be achieved. The yields of this crop must be raised, seed losses during harvesting be eliminated, storage and

processing facilities more vigorously developed and the deterioration of produce prevented.

By the efforts of the Party and the state and by the selfless work of cotton growers and land-reclamation workers the country has created a reliable base for steadily increasing cotton production. The volume of production should continue to rise in the future. But the question now is not simply one of the quantitative indices of growth. The key task is to improve the quality of output and to expand in every way the production of fine-fibre varieties. High quality is the chief concern of all the country's cotton growers.

More attention has to be paid to such produce as potatoes and vegetables. I mean not only the need to produce more. Production is increasing, though not so rapidly as one would like. Speaking of vegetables, the most important thing here, I believe, is to complete the conversion of vegetable growing to irrigation as soon as possible, to reduce harvest losses, ensure the high quality of produce and improve the processing and storage facilities. To improve the supply of vegetables in winter, it is also very important to expand the production of vegetables by building hothouses and hotbeds, drawing here on the experience of Moscow, Leningrad and other cities.

The practice of many of our regions, territories and republics and the experience of socialist countries show that the task of supplying potatoes and vegetables can most successfully be solved on the basis of new organisational forms—self-supporting associations, including specialised farms for producing them and enterprises for their storage and treatment. In the light of this we must ask the USSR Council of Ministers to submit proposals for instituting such an organisation in the immediate future.

An important role in our plans is assigned to the non-black-earth zone of the Russian Federation. One may note with satisfaction that the implementation of the comprehensive programme for the transformation of the agriculture of this vast area is beginning to have a positive effect on the growth of production and the improvement of the working and living conditions of the farm workers. But the work to develop the non-black-earth zone has still not acquired the scope and efficiency needed for successful accomplishment of the given tasks.

Judging by the results of the first two years of the five-year period, there is a lag in fulfilling targets for land reclamation, for improving soil fertility and creating a constructional base for production, housing, social and cultural needs. Little has been done to advance the building of roads. Work is proceeding slowly in moving families from small inhabited localities to well-appointed settlements. The expansion of capacities at plants of the flax processing, food and meat-and-dairy industries is falling short of plan targets. Obviously, not all the staff of central, republican and local

agencies have grasped the economic and political importance of solving the problems of the non-black-earth zone.

The ministries and departments responsible for conducting operations in the non-black-earth zone, as well as Party, government and economic bodies must do everything possible to overcome the lag and in future to reach on schedule the targets for the full range of measures for transforming the agriculture of this area. The 11th Five-Year Plan will also, of course, pay due attention to the problems of the non-black-earth zone.

Recently, as you know, I made a trip to areas of Siberia and the Far East. I must say frankly that I was deeply impressed by it. I had an opportunity to meet and talk with working people, Party activists and economic executives and to see at close quarters the work involved in the all-round development of natural resources and the advancement of the productive forces of this vast region which is playing an increasing role in the country's economy.

You know that an appropriate resolution on the results of the trip has been passed and that the necessary assignments have been given. I would like now to touch only on some aspects of agricultural production in Siberia and the Far East. The point is that the problems of this branch have not yet been given their due place in the set of measures to develop the economy of that zone. Great sums have to be spent on importing farm products, many of which could successfully be grown locally. I think the situation must be rectified so that the needs of the population for meat, milk, eggs, vegetables, potatoes and other such products may be met by local production to the maximum possible extent.

Comrades, at this plenary meeting we are defining the main objectives in the development of agricultural production for the future. Our immediate task now is to concentrate all our efforts on the fulfilment and maximum overfulfilment of the targets of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. Despite the increase in the output of crop and livestock farming, the targets for the first two years of the five-year period, both for the total volume of gross output and for particular items, have not been fully met.

Every year we are allocating more and more capital investments and material resources for developing agriculture. But it must be said that not everywhere are these investments yielding proper returns in the form of output. In the last two years gross farm production was less than planned in several regions of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, and in Moldavia, Latvia and Kirghizia. There are regions which registered a very small increase in output or even reduced its volume. Among them are the Tambov, Oryol, Lipetsk, Chelyabinsk, Odessa, Pavlodar and Turgai regions, to mention but a few.

The Krasnoyarsk Territory and the Penza, Kurgan and Ural regions are in fact marking time as regards grain crop yields. The

output of sugar beet remains at a low level at many collective and state farms in the central black earth zone.

The Rostov, Chita, Taldy-Kurgan and East Kazakhstan regions and the Altai Territory did not make full use of available opportunities for producing meat and failed to fulfil their plans for meat sales to the state. Milk yields at collective and state farms in the Kemerovo, Ulyanovsk, Zhitomir and Minsk regions virtually did not rise in these years. The productivity of livestock remains low as before and the task of meeting the population's needs of meat and dairy products through their own production is being solved slowly in Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics.

If one takes the data for other products, there too not all have worked equally and as hard as they should. This can be seen from the materials of the Central Statistical Board specially prepared for the Central Committee's plenary meeting and circulated among its participants. The heads of regions, territories and republics should critically analyse these indices, compare their own performances with those of their neighbours who have a higher level of production and procurement of products, and draw the necessary conclusions.

The shortfall in the output of products during the first two years of the five-year period should be made up for and measures taken to ensure that the assignments set by the CPSU's 25th Congress are fulfilled without fail. The conditions for this are good. One may say with great satisfaction that the springtime test has been passed successfully—spring sowing was carried out at the right time and at a high level of quality. Matters are improving in the sphere of livestock breeding. The wintering of animals proceeded normally. As compared with last year, more meat and eggs have been produced and the cattle and poultry stock of all kinds has grown. I would say that on the whole the situation is shaping up favourably.

But ahead of us, comrades, lies the most responsible period—harvest time. The main task is to prepare the material and technical basis in good time and in a comprehensive way, to harvest the crops in the shortest possible time and without losses. It is necessary to make maximum possible use of the ample opportunities offered by the summer season for further boosting the output of stockbreeding products. What is really important is to build up reliable stocks of high-quality fodder for the forthcoming wintering of animals.

It is a no less important task to see to it that every kilogramme of produce reaches the consumer. In this field much will depend on the efficient, well-coordinated and conscientious work of procurement, trade and transport organisations, of processing enterprises and of all those through whose hands pass the valuable products needed by the people and gained by hard work.

III. Questions of Collective Farm and State Farm Economics

Comrades, the securing of stable and well-adjusted economic relations in agriculture and also between branches of the agro-industrial complex plays an exceptionally important role in solving the problems of boosting agricultural production. Following the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, as I have already said, considerable work was done in this direction.

But life does not stand still. In recent years, as a result of tremendous efforts by the Party and the people, productive forces in the countryside have risen to a new level, the scale of production at collective and state farms has increased, the socialisation and division of labour have further developed and economic ties between branches of the agro-industrial complex have expanded and become more complex. All these far-reaching changes call for further improvements in the economic machinery. This concerns questions of planning, incentives, strengthening the self-supporting basis and improving the relations between all branches of the agro-industrial complex.

I wish, first of all, to deal with planning—a major lever in the management of agricultural production. Of late, apart from fixed plans, what are called total volumes of purchases and various additional assignments have begun to be set. A plurality of plans has, in effect, appeared. Here and there the practice has been revived of amending them frequently and groundlessly. This detracts from the mobilising role of plans, it has an adverse effect on the organisation of production and economic activity, and it gives little stimulus to the effort to boost production further. This situation should be remedied. In the next five-year plan period a single plan of purchases of farm produce should be drawn up for republics, territories and regions, districts, collective farms and state farms for the full five years with a breakdown into yearly plans.

At the same time the incentives should be improved for farms achieving high indices in the growth of production and sale of products to the state. There are various proposals on this score. Questions of further improving the system of incentives for selling farm produce should, evidently, be studied thoroughly with the broad participation of the workers themselves and with the enlistment of the services of scientific institutions so as to draft within, say, a year's time specific proposals for the Council of Ministers of the USSR to examine and submit to the CPSU Central Committee for consideration. Principles of planning and incentives should be worked out such as will create more favourable conditions for expanded reproduction at the present stage, improve the rationality of plans and ensure the elimination of a subjective approach to drawing up plans that still exists locally.

Thought should also be given to increasing the link between the material incentives for workers at state and collective farms and the results of their work and their efficient use of production assets and material resources. It is also important to improve the procedure for awarding bonuses to farm heads and specialists.

The comprehensive intensification of agriculture objectively widens and deepens its ties with those branches of industry which supply the countryside with material and technical means and process raw materials. What is needed in such circumstances is well-organised cooperation between partners. Unfortunately, we have not yet fully succeeded in getting rid of certain negative phenomena here.

Of fundamental importance is the question of the prices paid for manufactured products supplied to the countryside and also of payment for services rendered by Selkhoztekhnika and several other organisations catering for collective and state farms. The facts of the last few years show that here far from everything has been properly settled.

All this should be properly analysed so as to bring the economic relations between branches of the agro-industrial complex into line with the principles of socialist economic management.

In recent years a great deal has been done to improve purchasing prices. But not yet everything has been adjusted as we would wish it to be. The prices paid for certain kinds of produce still fail to cover the outlays of collective and state farms. What does this lead to? The more of these goods the farms produce, the greater are the losses they sustain. Willy-nilly the growth rate of production slows down and for this reason attempts are even being made in some places to curtail it. Such a situation cannot be allowed to continue any longer. Of course, in the first place, one must consistently and steadily raise labour productivity and lower production costs. But at the same time in the case of some products one should agree to a certain rise in price.

In this connection a resolution has been passed to raise as from January 1, 1979, without changing retail prices, the prices of milk, wool, karakul, mutton, potatoes and certain vegetables with a view to ensuring the profitability of producing them at collective and state farms. The additional sums to be paid to farms on account of the increased prices will amount to about 3,200 million roubles a year. The Council of Ministers of the USSR should continue the work of improving purchasing prices.

In order further to strengthen the economics of collective and state farms and to create conditions for managing production on a self-supporting basis, it has also been decided to implement several other measures. It has been thought advisable to exempt from income taxes collective farms whose profitability rate is below 25 per cent, as compared to the 15 per cent level in force now. The amount of compensation payable to state farms for losses

caused by natural calamities is to be raised with 1,000 million roubles from the state budget being made available for this purpose.

You know that in 1972 and in 1975 on account of an unprecedented drought collective and state farms in many areas of the country found themselves in exceptionally difficult circumstances, which could not but affect their economies and lead to considerable indebtedness. So in order to improve the economies of these farms it has been deemed necessary to write off collective and state farm debts under loans from the State Bank to the sum of 7,300 million roubles and to defer for a period of 12 years repayment of credits totalling 4,000 million roubles.

There is also the question of pensions for collective farmers. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers took a decision to advance the time schedules for implementing the 25th Party Congress's measures to improve the pension scheme for collective farmers. The raising of collective farmers' minimum pension by 40 per cent from January 1, 1980, is envisaged. In the next five-year period it will evidently be necessary to bring it up to the level of industrial and office workers.

The steps we intend to take to strengthen the collective and state farms economically involve, of course, additional state spending. But they open up new possibilities for the more rapid growth of collective and state farm production and it may be said with confidence they will be more than recouped by the extra grain, meat, milk and other farm produce contributed to the resources of the state.

But here I should like to say once again that the returns in agriculture are not yet sufficient, compared with the investments. And all of us, from the Central Committee and its departments, above all, the agricultural department, as well as the USSR Council of Ministers, the Planning Committee, the Ministry of Agriculture and other agricultural bodies, to Party and local government executives at all levels, should be fully aware of this. The task of making better use of material and financial resources at the collective and state farms, and of increasing the efficiency of agricultural production in present conditions should be given top priority. For this purpose a still more vigorous drive for economy and thriftiness, for lower production costs and against instances of mismanagement and squandering must be launched in all economic sectors from top to bottom. Only in this way can efficient utilisation of the countryside's existing economic potential be achieved.

As preparations were being made for the plenary meeting, several questions arose relating to improving the management of agricultural production. These concerned enhancing the role and responsibility and extending the rights and duties of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and agricultural bodies in republics, territories, regions and districts; they concerned Soyuzselkhoztekhnika,

organising better supplies and improving production and technical services for collective and state farms. These questions deserve examination and are very important for raising the efficiency of work. The USSR Council of Ministers, together with the republics, should examine all these matters, formulate the necessary proposals and submit them to the CPSU Central Committee.

IV. Greater Activity and Efficiency in Promoting Inter-Farm Cooperation

Comrades, the specialisation and concentration of production, that is to say, what Marxist-Leninists call the further socialisation of socialist production and labour, is an imperative demand of our life, a decisive foundation for our advance. After carefully examining the performance of enterprises and associations set up in agriculture on a cooperative basis and also the practical experience of fraternal socialist countries, the Central Committee declared this major social development to be a matter of importance for the whole Party and the state and put it on planned lines. As you know, in May, 1976 the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution *On Further Specialisation and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Inter-Farm Cooperation and Agro-Industrial Integration*.

The Central Committee's decision had the full support of the Party and the people and is regarded as a major political programme document. It is an embodiment and further development in specific conditions of the ideas of the great cooperative plan put forward by Lenin.

Upon publication of the resolution a great deal of fruitful activity began in the localities. Detailed plans were drawn up and are being put into practical effect for the specialisation and concentration of agricultural production. More than 8,000 inter-farm and agro-industrial enterprises and associations are already functioning in the country at present. This is a new type of enterprise in the countryside, already putting out a variety of produce in large quantities.

By joint efforts the collective and state farms are setting up modern enterprises for producing meat and milk, for pedigree stockbreeding, for producing fodder. As a rule, labour productivity and the rates of output growth at inter-farm stockbreeding associations are higher than at collective and state farms.

In crop farming joint enterprises on a cooperative basis are being established for seed production and the growing of vegetables, fruit, grapes and other crops. A high level of intensification in farming is inconceivable without inter-farm cooperation in using machinery and chemicals and in land improvement. Here, too, a start is being made with setting up appropriate associations. Valu-

able experience in this respect, proven in practice, is available in Moldavia and other parts of the country.

Apart from the output of farm produce inter-farm cooperation is also being introduced in all other spheres of life in the countryside.

Well-considered organisation of this important work makes it possible to attain at less cost and in less time the targets the Party is setting agriculture. But we must remember that this is no easy task. In organisational, scientific, technical and economic terms it is undoubtedly far more complicated than, say, the enlargement of collective farms, that is to say, something we have done in the recent past.

Implementing the course we have taken in this matter requires day-to-day attention, specific guidance and detailed analysis of the actual results. The Party's policy of achieving the specialisation and concentration of farm production does not at all mean slackening attention to particular branches in the collective and state farms, and especially not their curtailment. That would harm the national economy.

Inter-farm cooperation and the intensification of collective and state farm production are the sole and the most effective way of increasing the output of agricultural produce. Unfortunately, there are facts on record when the necessary conclusions have not been drawn from the Central Committee's warnings on this question, reductions in the head of livestock and even the closures of whole farms have been allowed. The main question in conducting work on specialisation and concentration is to give it profound thought, to do things in a rational scientific way and achieve high efficiency of production.

At the same time we cannot help being worried by the fact that work to implement the Central Committee's resolution is not yet in full swing everywhere. If we examine the root of shortcomings and negative phenomena in the work for the specialisation and concentration of agricultural production, it is not hard to see that the main thing here, evidently, is that there are many people among our cadres who have not yet grasped either the vital necessity or the profound meaning of all this work. Some interpret in their own way the Central Committee's warning against haste in this undertaking. They have taken this to mean that the work can be stretched over many years. This is a mistake! The resolution is speaking not of schedules, but of the quality of work. To do a thing well does not mean to take a long time doing it.

Inter-farm cooperation is a big and complicated objective process. It cannot be held back, nor must it be hastened. The work should be conducted in a planned way, with careful consideration being given to it, in conjunction with other measures for the intensification of agricultural production. It is, of course, a voluntary undertaking, and we shall strictly adhere to this principle. But

voluntariness and laissez-faire are not closely related but diametrically opposed.

I have some hard words for particular Union bodies and above all for the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and the USSR State Planning Committee. They have not yet become centres for coordinating and directing all the work for the specialisation and concentration of agricultural production in the country. Narrow departmental positions are not infrequently adopted by some top executives of ministries and departments, particularly in the food and meat-and-dairy industries. Instead of vigorously working hand in hand with agricultural bodies in developing production cooperation, they are slowing down this progressive process and occasionally, to put it mildly, are not advising their own farms to join in inter-farm cooperation, or are seeking to set up separate associations.

These are the most essential conclusions and remarks that have to be taken into account in further work to implement the CPSU Central Committee's resolution. At the same time, as experience shows, more specific recommendations are needed on certain basic aspects of the work being done. Particular attention and serious treatment should be given to choosing the best organisational forms of specialisation and concentration on the basis of inter-farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration when applied to different branches and trends in farming. We do not need just any kind of association, but those that really raise to a new level the socialist socialisation of production and labour, are based on the latest achievements in science, engineering and technology, ensure the highest productivity and produce the maximum low-cost output.

Our own practical experience offers a great variety of forms. What must be done is to examine them thoroughly and select the most suitable and effective ones for each particular branch.

In general, comrades, we should be more active in putting the work for the specialisation and concentration of farm production on a practical footing. Questions of inter-farm cooperation should become permanent items on the agenda of rural Party organisations and leading bodies in the districts, regions and republics. It must become the firm conviction of all of us that by means of specialisation and concentration of agricultural production through inter-farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration our agriculture, utilising the advantages of the socialist system, will be able greatly to speed up the rate of its advance and much more fully to satisfy the country's growing needs of food and raw materials for industry.

V. More Attention to Construction in the Countryside

Comrades, the successful implementation of the great programme for boosting agriculture further is directly linked with the organ-

isation of capital construction. Concern for the development of rural construction is now a major component part of the Party's agrarian policy.

Since the March 1965 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee a great deal has been done to expand and raise the level of rural construction as a new branch of the national economy. I may remind you that specialised state building organisations were set up, united in the USSR Ministry of Rural Construction. The system we already have of inter-collective farm building organisations is increasing its capacities.

Over the past ten years the state and the collective farms have invested almost 16,000 million roubles in creating a production basis for rural construction. Some three million builders are now working on the construction of rural projects. This is a large new detachment of the working class in the countryside. The Ministry of Rural Construction and inter-collective farm building organisations are already doing building and assembly work to a value of more than 10,000 million roubles a year.

This means that every year sees an increasing number of new buildings rise in the villages—stockbreeding and poultry farms, repair shops, agrochemical centres, grain elevators, mixed feeds plants, stores for seeds, potatoes and vegetables, and hothouses.

Rural construction today is very important for solving social problems as well. The Party is firmly committed to its policy of radically improving living, cultural and everyday conditions in the countryside. I have already said recently that a total of 450 million square metres of housing has been built in rural localities in the past 13 years. You may recall that in the prewar year of 1940 this was the total housing available in all the cities and towns of our country. House building both in the countryside and in cities is being put on an industrial basis. Rural communities are being developed comprehensively, in accordance with the master plans that have been drawn up. Modern public buildings are being erected along with residential blocks. In villages now you may often see a modern shopping centre, a well-equipped public service centre, a canteen or cosy cafe.

Not so long ago the building of creches and kindergartens in the villages was a very rare occurrence, and as a rule they were accommodated in primitive premises. Since 1965 standard designs have been used in the building of pre-school establishments for nearly two million children, general educational schools for 11 million pupils, clubs and palaces of culture with a total seating capacity of eight million, and many public health and municipal service centres and sports grounds.

Yet rural construction still remains, I would say, a bottleneck. Despite the measures that have been taken the production facilities for construction in the countryside are still inadequate. More than one-third of the building work is being done by collective

and state farms by the self-help method, and this greatly reduces the quality of building work, results in delays and greater costs. Because capital investment is scattered over a large number of building projects, the time schedules for putting farm production capacities into operation are not being observed, and this increases the amount of uncompleted construction in progress.

In design and building inadequate account is taken of the specific conditions of the countryside and industrial components and structures are often unthinkingly introduced. I have already said that new construction is now very expensive. Over the past ten years, for example, the cost of accommodation per animal has risen more than three times at dairy farms, and four times at pig farms. There are frequent instances of heavy materials being used in construction, of unwarranted complexity in power circuits and of projects over-equipped with cumbersome installations. At some new stockbreeding farms and complexes there are up to eight cubic metres of concrete per cow and up to 400 kg of metal per calf. Isn't that rather too much weight for the animals?!

In the design of rural building projects there are also serious failings, extravagances are tolerated and little account is taken of zonal features, which in the final analysis largely determines the low effectiveness of capital investments. The present procedure for giving economic incentives and for assessing the work of builders and designers has a negative effect. It encourages them to make projects costlier rather than cheaper.

There are many complaints and criticisms from both building workers and the farms about the provision of building sites with equipment and materials. There is a great deal of confusion and muddle here. In order to get a full range of equipment for building projects farm managers often have to make dozens of applications at various levels and to send envoys to all parts of the country.

If we look at house building and provision of recreational and public service facilities in the countryside or at water supply in steppe land areas, we shall find that there are even more shortcomings there. There is systematic failure to fulfil plans for completing the construction of new flats, child welfare facilities and other projects connected with the improvement of services, health care and recreational facilities for rural inhabitants in many districts, regions and republics.

We must place a much greater accent on building and improving recreational and service facilities for farm workers in the countryside. It would be appropriate to ask the USSR Council of Ministers to draw up by 1979 specific long-term plans for improving the entire business of organising industrial, housing, recreational and public service construction in the countryside, allocating more funds for this purpose.

This programme should embrace a whole range of problems connected with the accelerated development of industrial facilities for

rural construction. It is a question of establishing big rural building plants designed to produce a range of light industrial structures with a high degree of factory readiness and of using them to erect industrial premises that can be turned over to customers ready for use; it is a question of creating production units for carrying out special building and assembly work, of measures to step up house building, organising a network of rural house building plants, and developing wood panel house building. Considering the importance of retaining manpower in the countryside, above all farm machine operators and specialists, we could afford to reallocate some of the general funds for non-productive building in favour of the countryside.

There must be a correct approach to rural construction, heeding the specific characteristics of the life and interests of the rural population. Rural construction should, evidently, aim to provide families, as a rule, with their own well-appointed houses complete with individual holdings and backyard premises for domestic livestock and poultry, as well as individual means of transport.

It is very important to ensure the development of individual and cooperative house building financed by the rural population with their own money. On this point a decision has been taken to encourage individual house building by granting long-term loans on favourable terms.

Close attention must be paid to combining new building with reconstructing and modernising working premises at collective and state farms, above all, stockbreeding premises. As you know, in previous years collective and state farms built a large number of basic premises of standard design. These must be reconstructed and adapted to modern requirements. Such an approach, as has been noted more than once, makes it possible to go over to progressive production technologies at lower cost. But this work is not yet being conducted on the due scale. Designers are avoiding it, builders do not see it as a paying proposition and planning agencies and supply organisations are not contemplating the supply of equipment available for this purpose. The USSR Council of Ministers and appropriate departments must set things right here and create conditions which would stimulate reconstruction work on rural industrial projects.

I should now like to touch on such an important issue as road building. The further upsurge of farm production and rise in the living standards of the rural population are directly connected with developing the network of motor roads—the major transport arteries, the lifelines, one might say, of the countryside. Yet good roads are still few and far between. Agricultural losses because of the lack of roads are still too high.

The USSR State Planning Committee and the Councils of Ministers of the constituent republics should see to it that road building

figures properly in economic and social development plans and is backed up by the financial and material resources it needs.

In rural construction as, indeed, everywhere else, concern for manpower is a matter of paramount importance. The country's institutions of higher learning are training plenty of good specialists for industrial and urban construction. But, designing and building in the countryside have certain specific features of their own. It would be right for the Ministry of Higher and Specialised Secondary Education to train still more building engineers and architects expressly for employment in the countryside. Central and local authorities must give more attention to training well-qualified building workers for the countryside within the vocational training system and to improving their working and living conditions.

The great part that cities and industrial centres can play by acting as patrons of the countryside is well known. The experience of recent years in this respect has shown many valuable forms this work can take. I am referring to the help given in designing and building hothouse facilities, livestock farms, fodder producing establishments, housing, recreational and service facilities. Some enterprises are making for the needs of the countryside certain types of machinery, mechanisms and spare parts which are in short supply, and are training farm machine operators. A large amount of work is being done to improve recreational and cultural services for crop and stock farmers and so on.

Much is being done in this direction by the Party organisations of Moscow and the Moscow region, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Kiev, Dnepropetrovsk, Volgograd, Minsk and Tashkent. The initiative taken and experience gained by these Party organisations deserve to be supported in every way by the Party committees of other cities and industrial centres.

VI. Organisational and Ideological Work in the Countryside

Comrades, the new stage in the drive to advance agriculture must be matched by a still higher standard of Party guidance and better methods of mass work. We have every reason to expect that the Party organisations will cope worthily with these tasks.

Our Party's prestige in the countryside is continuously rising. We should note as greatly to the credit of the Party and its local organisations that Party contingents in the countryside have appreciably grown since the March Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee. In the countryside today there are 5,800,000 Communists, 1,200,000 more than in 1965; 2,700,000 full and candidate members of the Party are directly engaged in agricultural production, mostly in its basic branches.

In short, the Communists in the countryside constitute a big and efficient army of workers. Primary Party organisations are its backbone. It is these organisations that are directly responsible for solving the problems of production and education. It is their persistent and purposeful work and their ability to rouse and organise people that are decisively instrumental in consistently and effectively carrying out the Party's agrarian policy.

The experience of the past few years has amply proved how correct and farsighted the Central Committee was in reconstituting and consolidating district Party committees as the principal political bodies in the countryside and the authoritative vehicles of Party guidance of economic, social and cultural life in the countryside. There are more than 3,000 of them now. The district Party committees are increasingly applying a genuinely creative style of Party work. We must go on enhancing the role of the rural district Party committees; this is a task for the whole of our Party.

Regional and territorial Party committees and the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the constituent republics are doing a great deal of organisational work in their guidance of agriculture.

They have accumulated considerable experience in the practical application of the Party's agrarian policy and in mobilising the efforts of the Party organisations, of the Soviets of People's Deputies, of the trade unions, the Young Communist League and all agricultural workers for tackling the major problems of developing farm production and for raising its efficiency.

But we would be lacking in self-criticism if we were to say that the work of all Party committees is up to present requirements. It must be admitted that certain Party committees are failing to grasp deeply enough the economic and social changes taking place in the countryside, are not seeing all the new opportunities that exist for the swifter growth of agricultural production, are not always objective in assessing the state of things and sometimes tend to exaggerate the results achieved.

Not long ago, as you know, the Party's Central Committee reviewed the work of the Tambov Regional Party Committee. It noted major shortcomings in the region's agricultural development and in the style and methods of the regional Party committee's work. The leadership which the regional Party committee provided had often been effected by wilful means, sometimes the opinion of the active Party members as well as of specialists had been disregarded, and elements of a resort to administrative methods had been manifested. The regional Party committee placed little reliance on district Party committees and primary Party organisations. Criticism and self-criticism there were underesteemed.

These are, of course, isolated instances, but even so they are utterly inadmissible and intolerable in present conditions. The

Party's Central Committee could not tolerate such a situation and, as you know, drew the necessary organisational conclusions.

The Central Committee's plenary meeting in December, 1977 posed very sharply the issue of discipline and that of the high sense of responsibility of cadres. This is something I must speak about today as well. It is one of the most important foundations of all our activities. Take, for example, the fulfilment of procurement plans.

In any year, whether it is a good or a bad year, in every region, territory or republic, there are particular collective and state farms which fail to fulfil their plans for the sale of particular products to the state. This is mainly due to a lack of responsibility and an inadequately exacting attitude towards cadres. References are often made to difficulties and objective causes but, whatever the difficulties may be, nobody has the right to harm the common interests and to violate state discipline. The regional and territorial Party committees as well as the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the constituent republics must step up their efforts to end such practices and root out whatever breeds them, to improve all forms of Party, government and public control.

The handling of cadres has been and remains the key problem of Party guidance of agriculture. In this sphere, as I have already said, much has been done, but far from everything has yet been done. What worries us particularly is the problem of middle-level management—branch, team and section heads. So far only 40 per cent of the staff engaged in these jobs are agricultural specialists. There are many educated people in the countryside today and we must constantly look for, find among them and train those who could make good business managers. Party organisations must show more concern for the selection, allocation and training of this category of workers.

And also on the question of farm machine operators. Our country has an extensive system of training them. Unfortunately, far from all the trained farm machine operators actually remain at collective and state farms.

The problems of training and retaining farm machine operators in the countryside are a matter of our constant concern, but we have not yet found a full solution to this problem. A study of the question has shown that what increasingly matters here are the working and living conditions and the extent to which the people's cultural and intellectual needs are met. Executives, Party and trade union organisations must make fuller use of the considerable potentialities every collective farm and state farm has for this purpose.

Not only production but also relations between people, their everyday life, their culture, outlook and awareness are an object of the Party's unfailing attention. One of the most important tasks

facing us today is to combine agricultural production with culture taken in the broadest possible sense as the culture of work, everyday life and human relations. You know that after the 25th Congress the CPSU Central Committee has considered questions involving the extension of material facilities for cultural and recreational institutions in the countryside and the improvement in the functioning of general education schools and that of the vocational training system.

Today the only way to pose the question is as follows: farm managers, Party committees, local government and trade union bodies must show no less concern for meeting the farm workers' demands for housing and service facilities as well as their increased cultural requirements than they do for the development of production.

The task of advancing agriculture, to quote Lenin, "cannot possibly be fulfilled by single acts of heroic fervour; it requires the most prolonged, most persistent and most difficult mass heroism in plain, everyday work." *

And this heroism of the plain, everyday work of millions upon millions finds its striking expression in the specific practical deeds and in the productive, social and political activities of the masses, in the vast scope of socialist emulation. What matters to us are both the specific economic results of labour competition and the great educational opportunities it offers.

The ultimate economic aim of emulation is to produce more and cheaper grain, meat, milk and other products. It is important for us to know by what particular means the best results have been achieved and for what particular reasons some have moved up in front while others have stayed where they were, and yet others have fallen behind. Why, lastly, what proved possible at one collective or state farm was not achieved at another? Why is there still such a discrepancy between economic performances?

In short, there is ample scope for work by Party, trade union and YCL organisations and by the Soviets of People's Deputies, as well as for our press, television and radio, for all who can and should contribute the mite of their own experience, proven by science and their own lives. We must give every possible support to the initiatives of farm workers such as the drive of crop and stock farmers to raise bumper harvests, to achieve the highest possible livestock productivity, and to reduce production costs; that of farm machine operators to make maximum use of the technical potentialities of machinery; and that of entire collective and state farms to step up their labour productivity and fulfil the assignments of the present five-year plan ahead of schedule.

It is up to the Communists in the countryside to head the emulation. The important thing is for all Party organisations and Com-

* V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 423.

munists in the countryside to be the first to grasp the full meaning of the targets of the Party's agrarian policy at the present stage and the ways of attaining them. They are expected to use methods of Party persuasion and communist education to help millions of people to understand these tasks, to inspire them and concentrate their efforts on carrying the Party's programme of agricultural development into effect. Every Communist must set an example of self-sacrificing work. He must be an able organiser and a propagator of advanced know-how, making the common cause his own vital concern and striving to create an atmosphere of closeknit, self-sacrificing and creative collective work. A Communist cannot and must not close his eyes to a negligent attitude towards one's work, or tolerate instances of mismanagement, drunkenness, absenteeism or other misbehaviour besmirching the honour and dignity of Soviet man.

Comrades, we have golden ears of wheat on our state emblem. They are not there by chance. Our bread is the result of the combined efforts of the peasant, worker and intellectual. The advance of agriculture is an inseparable part of the country's all-round economic progress. As Lenin emphasised, the economy involves "the deepest roots of the human life of hundreds of millions". And it is in matters affecting the life of millions and the conditions of their everyday life and work that the Communists have the most serious politics to pursue and the major route to follow in their organisational, ideological and political work.

The solution of the great and complex problems posed by the CPSU Central Committee in agriculture will make it possible to raise the people's standard of living still higher. This is the meaning of the measures this plenary meeting has been called to consider. It will require hard efforts, the energy and creative initiative of the masses, as well as the entire rich experience of the Party and the knowledge and organising ability of its cadres to achieve the set targets.

Allow me to express my conviction that the Party organisations, Communists, YCL members and workers in the town and countryside will do everything to translate the decisions of this plenary meeting into reality.

**SPEECH AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE
COUNTRY'S AWARDS TO SOVIET
PILOT-COSMONAUT PYOTR KLIMUK AND
CITIZEN OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
COSMONAUT-RESEARCHER MIROSLAW
HERMASZEWSKI**

July 6, 1978

Dear comrades,

We are all extremely happy to greet Pyotr Klimuk and Mirosław Hermaszewski who have just returned from space. They worked in orbit together with Comrades Kovalyonok and Ivanchenkov in a state of weightlessness, yet a weighty contribution has been made to the exploration of near-Earth space. The programme involves very interesting technological experiments, studies in the field of biology and the obtaining of valuable information on the Earth and the World Ocean.

In future, space flights will probably become a customary thing. I even think this will be the case in the not so distant future. But for the generation destined to carve the first space pathways, each flight is an outstanding event, each flight is in many respects a step into the unknown. It requires of its participants the utmost courage, great expertise and strong will. The space pioneers do possess all these qualities.

The present flight is significant in one more way. The relay baton which Yuri Gagarin was the first to carry over the planet has now been taken up by international socialist crews. The world-famous *Salyut-6-Soyuz* orbital complex this time became the space home for representatives of the Soviet Union and People's Poland. A son of the country of Copernicus has visited outer space. This is excellent, comrades. One can be proud of it.

Every year the combined efforts of the peoples of the socialist countries in undertakings down here on Earth have been bearing ever richer fruit. And now in outer space, too, the teamwork of our cosmonauts is yielding magnificent results, enriching man-

kind with new knowledge and discoveries. New starts lie ahead, with the participation of citizens of other socialist countries.

But today we are paying tribute to Pyotr Klimuk and Mirosław Hermaszewski. For the successful accomplishment of the space flight and the courage and heroism displayed twice Hero of the Soviet Union Pyotr Klimuk is awarded the Order of Lenin, and the first Polish cosmonaut Mirosław Hermaszewski made a Hero of the Soviet Union, with the presentation of the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal.

I warmly congratulate you, dear comrades, and wish you health, happiness, new creative daring and success in your noble and necessary work.

TO MY AMERICAN READER

*Foreword to a Collection of Public Statements "Peace, Détente, and Soviet-American Relations" **

Brought together in this book you will find articles and speeches—in full or abridged form—on problems of détente and Soviet-American relations and covering the period from 1973 to June 1978.

Political speeches are sensitive to the test of time and cannot always claim rebirth in book form. The abiding urgency of our theme is due to the longing of billions of people for lasting peace and security, to their concern for the future of détente. The abiding relevance of these statements is due to the consistent and unchanging course of the Soviet Union in foreign policy, a course for the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of states, irrespective of differences between their social and political systems, a course for détente, a course that is unaffected by momentary considerations of expediency.

I do not doubt that the majority of Americans want neither a shooting war between our countries nor the nerve-racking dangerous tensions of a "cold war". At the same time I can grant that some of my American readers may have been conditioned into having doubts and even apprehensions regarding the "real" intentions of the Soviet Union. These doubts and apprehensions certainly do not arise from their own personal experiences. Their only source is belief in the biased statements of journalists, of persons reputed to be "experts" in this field, and even of particular official figures.

Such readers have come under the influence of political forces bent on sabotaging détente. Actively using the means of manipulating public opinion, these forces present their own private interests as the interests of the nation. They are busy creating log jams in

* The collection was published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., in 1979.

the way of agreement between our countries on crucial questions of arms limitation and the preparation of conditions for transition to disarmament. They see danger to their plans and to themselves in any moves conducive to our peoples gaining a better knowledge of each other's life and culture and to their arriving at a greater mutual understanding. They managed to prevent the U.S. government from honouring its promise to end discrimination against the Soviet Union in the fields of trade and credit. As a result the Soviet Union turned to other markets; its trade with other Western countries grew appreciably, while U.S. foreign trade suffered damage that could easily have been avoided.

This book will give you firsthand knowledge of the views of "the other side" in the spirit of "fair play" so respected by Americans.

I hope it will help you to find the answer to the question of Soviet intentions, about which masses of misrepresentations and fantastic inventions have been raised by the opponents of détente. The intentions of the Soviet Union, of its leaders and people, are precisely as set out in this book. There is no other, parallel and secret, "black paper" of our policy. To impute to the Soviet Union insidious designs in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East or with regard to the United States is just a foul tactic of political struggle. It bears no resemblance to the facts.

The reader can trace, chronologically, Soviet efforts to have international relations restructured in the interests of peaceful coexistence, to the benefit of the people of our countries and of universal peace. Using the subject index, he will be able to gain a better knowledge of the Soviet view on particular international problems.

Détente had been and remains the subject of a great deal of debate. In this book you will find our understanding of this process of overcoming the "cold war" and going on to normal, equitable, and mutually beneficial relations between states. The need for détente springs from the objective circumstances of the coexistence of states in conditions of a nuclear age. Unless we wish to call in question the very existence of civilisation and mankind, there is truly no other way.

To the widely known imperatives of the nuclear age one may add the historical legacy, which favors the development of good relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Our countries have never waged war against each other, if we discount the brief American participation in foreign military intervention against the young Soviet Republic. We have no territorial claims on each other. The peoples of our two countries possess a tremendous cultural heritage and potential and are keenly interested in each other's cultural life.

True, we are divided by differences in our social systems. The United States is the major capitalist country. (Perhaps you would prefer to say "the major Western country".) The Soviet Union

is the major socialist country. There is bound to be an ideological debate between us as to whose world view is more correct and whose way of life is better. Here there is bound to be competition between the two systems. But let us agree that this historical dispute cannot be decided on the battlefield of nuclear war. History will in due course deliver its verdict. In the meantime, attending to our own business in our respective countries, we shall cooperate peaceably on the principles of propriety, mutual respect, and mutual benefit. Such is our approach.

In his Farewell Address the founder of your nation, George Washington, advised you to observe good faith and justice toward all nations, and to cultivate peace and harmony with all.

The founder of our Soviet state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, put forward and made a persuasive case for the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states belonging to different social and political systems—this was many decades before the word *détente* acquired its present meaning. This principle demands that states not interfere in each other's internal affairs and that they not use force to decide disputed issues, and that normal peaceful and businesslike relations be maintained between socialist and capitalist countries.

Let us follow the behests of the founders of our states.

I hope this book will convince the reader that it is precisely this road which the Soviet Union prefers.

LEONID BREZHNEV

July 1978

PREFACE TO A COLLECTION OF ARTICLES "PEACE, THE PRICELESS TREASURE OF PEOPLES" *

Preparing to release the collection of my speeches and articles on Soviet foreign policy, Akadimos Publishers asked me to write a preface.

To be absolutely frank, I should like very much to see some of the subjects in this collection outdated, so that some of the questions I have raised could be considered past history. But these subjects and these questions are, unfortunately, still very much on the agenda of world politics. In the first place, and most important of all, this is the problem of the arms race. This issue constantly clamours for attention, becoming more and more urgent and crucial every day.

Today, foreign policy for all practical purposes holds the key to the future of mankind. Indeed, the question is: will there be a "great" war or a "great", i.e., lasting and durable peace? This question concerns the future of human civilisation, the existence of whole nations, and the preservation of the material and non-material treasures which have been created over centuries and millennia by many generations of intellect and labour.

The reader will find in this book our assessments of the situation in the international arena. He will find our proposals as to how to protect our planet from upheavals, and how to rid the world of the arms race which is threatening, quite literally, the existence of both the earth and the blue skies over it. He will find in it our sense of historical optimism and our belief that mankind is worthy of a bright and honorable future. For it is a fact that mankind has already brought forth forces which every day are committed in the great battle for peace, a battle which has spread all over the world.

I think that these thoughts and feelings are consonant with those of the Greek people.

* The collection was put out by the Greek publishing house of Akadimos in 1978.

Ancient Hellas brought forth many thinkers who, in those distant times when human civilization was in its infancy, used common sense, logic and graphic imagery to prove that wars between nations are intolerable, that man must fight against such wars.

I am confident that, like other peoples, the Greek people value the ideas of peace and are ready to stand up for them.

In this preface I would like to touch upon one question which, I believe, is of no small interest to readers in Greece. What I have in mind is the Mediterranean problem.

We want to see the Mediterranean a sea of peace, good-neighbourliness and cooperation. We realise that it is not easy to achieve this, since there are numerous pockets of tension and the conflicting interests of many nations here.

I will say straightaway that we want very much to see the events in this part of the world take the most favourable turn. Why? For the simple reasons that the elimination of local breeding grounds of war and tension is one of the imperative conditions for lasting peace throughout the world, and that the Mediterranean is crossed by many sea routes connecting the southern ports of our country with the world ocean. The Mediterranean lies on the approaches to our borders which we want to see calm and undisturbed.

As you know, we have not only repeatedly declared that we want detente to spread to the Mediterranean area, we came up with a number of initiatives aimed at achieving this goal. For example, we proposed that Soviet and American surface and submarine vessels carrying nuclear weapons be simultaneously withdrawn from the Mediterranean Sea. However, so far these proposals have not met with a positive response from the NATO leaders.

The peoples of our countries are bound by an ancient friendship which took root many centuries ago. These friendly ties and our feelings of mutual sympathy have stood the test of time in the hard periods of the struggle of our peoples against the common enemy. This is history and it cannot be expunged from the memory of our peoples. Many pages have been written into the great book of history, pages which are equally dear to the Greeks and to the Russians. But modern times, too, give us enough incentive to develop extensive cooperation between our peoples in a variety of different fields. There are no disputed issues between the Soviet Union and Greece that would block the development of good relations. We Soviet people want this. Friendly ties and good-neighbourly relations between us would undoubtedly benefit the cause of peace in Europe and the whole world.

One of the links we should utilise in the chain leading to this goal is cultural exchange between Greece and the Soviet Union. I welcome in particular the fact that the Akadimos Society is planning to publish the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia in Greek.

Of course, cultural exchange by itself "does not make the climate", as we say. But when it grows into a system, when our polit-

ical and economic ties also grow and develop, we can speak about the creation of a new climate. Mutual acquaintance leads to mutual understanding, mutual understanding to mutual trust, and mutual trust to cooperation. And cooperation is the cornerstone of peace and friendship between nations.

I wish my readers and all the people of Greece happiness and prosperity.

L. BREZHNEV

*Moscow
July 18, 1978*

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE
PRESENTATION OF AWARDS OF THE
MOTHERLAND TO POLITBUREAU MEMBER OF
THE CPSU CC, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CC
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
UKRAINE, V. V. SHCHERBITSKY, AND TO THE
DEPUTY MINISTER OF HEALTH OF THE
USSR, E. I. CHAZOV**

July 6, 1978

Dear comrades,

I have a pleasant duty to perform: to award the Order of the October Revolution to our comrade-in-arms, member of the CPSU CC Politbureau, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitsky, and the Order of Lenin and Hammer and Sickle Gold Medal of Hero of Socialist Labour to the Deputy Minister of Health of the USSR, Academician, Professor Evgeny Ivanovich Chazov.

Dear Vladimir Vasilyevich, many high awards have been conferred upon you by the Motherland for the great and successful work you have done for the benefit of our Leninist Party and the Soviet people. The award being given to you today, to mark your sixtieth birthday, and in recognition of your great services to the Party and state, bears the glorious name of Great October. In conferring it upon you today I offer my heartfelt congratulations, and wish you new splendid victories in our common great cause of building communism.

As for the high award conferred by the Motherland upon one of the most outstanding workers in the field of Soviet health protection, our good friend Evgeny Ivanovich Chazov, this is in acknowledgement of his unquestionably great services in the most humanitarian sphere of human activity—protection of the people's health—of his services as a medical researcher and practising specialist, and, finally, as a leading organiser of our health service. Please accept, esteemed Evgeny Ivanovich, my congratulations and sincere wishes for new great successes in your work.

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE
PRESENTATION OF AWARDS TO
COSMONAUTS V. F. BYKOVSKY AND S. JÄHN**

September 12, 1978

Dear comrades,

It is a great pleasure to me to cordially welcome in the Kremlin the heroes of the new international space flight—Valery Bykovsky and Sigmund Jähn.

I congratulate you, my dear friends cosmonauts, upon your safe return to Earth and the successful implementation of your honorable and complex assignment.

I would like to take advantage of this occasion to convey best wishes to Comrades Kovalyonok and Ivanchenkov with whom you recently parted in orbit and who courageously continue their long flight.

Man blazed the trail into space quite recently, merely seventeen years ago. Many people thought then that for many decades ahead space flights would only be a test of man's will and courage, a symbol of the scientific and technical possibilities of mankind. But the great practical value of cosmonautics was proved convincingly within a short period.

It is hardly possible to mention a branch of science, technology or national economy where the beneficial effect of space exploration was not felt in some degree or other. It can be said with confidence that the benefits from exploration of near-Earth space will be growing in future.

Space flights of international socialist crews in the framework of *Intercosmos* programme show in a considerable degree the progress achieved by our socialist community in the main branches of science and technology. They acquire knowledge that will benefit the whole of mankind.

And now when following in the footsteps of citizens of Poland and Czechoslovakia, a citizen of the German Democratic Republic has completed a space flight, I would like to emphasise the considerable contribution made by the socialist state of German working

people to the joint work of fraternal countries in the exploration and use of outer space.

In a word, it can be said that in space matters, too, socialism is true to its fundamental principles. In this sphere it also places the emphasis on cooperation, mutual assistance, internationalism.

Comrades, for successful implementation of the space flight on board the orbital research complex *Salyut-6*—*Soyuz* and for courage and heroism shown during the flight, veteran spaceman, twice Hero of the Soviet Union, Pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR Valery Bykovsky is decorated with the Order of Lenin. Cosmonaut of the GDR Sigmund Jähn is awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union and is presented with the Order of Lenin and the Gold Star Medal.

Thank you, dear comrades, for the exemplary performance of your responsible mission. I wish you wholeheartedly good health, happiness, great new successes.

SPEECH IN BAKU * AT A MEETING WITH LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AZERBAIJAN AND OF THE AZERBAIJAN SSR

September 21, 1978

Leonid Brezhnev noted that many important events in the life of the country as a whole and of the republic had taken place in the eight years since his last visit to Azerbaijan. Together with the whole Soviet people, the working people of Azerbaijan and its capital had worked well and made a big advance in communist construction, which was strikingly seen in the results of the development of the economy, science and culture of the Azerbaijan SSR. The award of the Order of Lenin to the city of Baku was evidence of the recognition of this.

The successes of the republic are linked indissolubly with the persistent and purposeful activities of the Party organisation of Azerbaijan, the Bureau of its Central Committee, and the leadership of the republic in raising the political consciousness of all workers at all levels and their sense of civic responsibility for heightening discipline and improving the efficiency of labour. While giving due credit to what has been done, Leonid Brezhnev said, it has to be stressed that quite a few problems still remain unsolved, that there are still big reserves which it is the Azerbaijan Communists' duty to utilise.

In this connection the General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU singled out the task of running the economy more efficiently, of seeing to it that each branch of the economy and each enterprise fulfils the plan on schedule and for all indices, including growth of labour productivity and the range and quality of products.

In the current five-year period the state is allocating more than 1,500 million roubles annually for developing the national economy of Azerbaijan. This is much more than it allocated in the Ninth Five-Year Plan period. The experience of building and commissioning the Baku household air conditioners plant, the new oil refin-

ing capacities, the large water reservoirs, and a number of installations in the chemical, light and food industries shows that certain positive shifts have taken place in construction, but on the whole the state of affairs there leaves room for improvement. Leonid Brezhnev drew the attention of the republic's leadership to the need for the Party organisation to establish control over implementing the plans for commissioning basic assets, including housing and cultural and everyday service establishments, and to decrease the volume of uncompleted construction.

Further on Comrade Brezhnev spoke of the big tasks to be accomplished in connection with the extensive programme, adopted by the July 1978 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, for turning agriculture into a highly developed sector of the economy. The realisation of the agrarian policy of the Party calls for the painstaking day-to-day work of all Party, government, Komsomol and economic organisations, of all our cadres without exception, he said.

Referring to the development of the agriculture of Azerbaijan, Leonid Brezhnev observed that alongside achievements a number of indices were lower than the nationwide average, especially in animal husbandry, and he advised the republic's leading workers to engage themselves more closely with this problem, all the more so since the requirements of foodstuffs were growing constantly in step with the improvement of the standard of living of the working people.

Leonid Brezhnev called for greater care to protect nature, to preserve the purity of the Caspian Sea basin. Quite a few good decisions have been adopted in this connection, the CPSU CC General Secretary said, but not all of them are being carried out in the way needed by us as well as by generations to come.

In conclusion Leonid Brezhnev dwelt upon some questions of Party building. He pointed to the importance of the report-back-and-election campaign, in the course of which the 16,500,000 Communists of the country will discuss the results of their joint work. It is essential that in each organisation this discussion should have a businesslike character and should give a fresh impulse to the Communists' activities in carrying out the decisions of the Party's 25th Congress.

Comrade Brezhnev said he was confident that the Party organisation of Azerbaijan would be equal to the tasks facing it and the whole country, and he wished further successes to the republic, its leadership and all the working people of the Azerbaijan SSR.

Leonid Brezhnev's speech was listened to with great attention and was very warmly received.

* A summary

SPEECH AT THE GALA MEETING DEDICATED TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE ORDER OF LENIN TO THE CITY OF BAKU

September 22, 1978

Dear comrades and friends,

We meet today on a most happy occasion: I have been entrusted with the honour of presenting to the city of Baku the highest award of the Motherland, the Order of Lenin. I wholeheartedly congratulate the people of Baku on this great award.

The great name of Lenin is inseparable from the history of your city and from the history of Azerbaijan. Vladimir Ilyich, as Kirov figuratively put it, from many miles away heard the heartbeat of the proletarians of Baku. He had close links with the working people of Azerbaijan, he guided their revolutionary struggle and showed them the road to the future. And they always responded fervently to the leader's calls.

The Bolsheviks of Baku and the working people of Azerbaijan were distinguished by their steadfastness in the class struggle and by their consistent internationalism at every stage of the revolutionary struggle. Much of this has already become legendary.

Let us recall that six days after the victory of the October Revolution in Petrograd the revolution triumphed in Baku too. Let us recall the Baku Commune and its 26 legendary Commissars.

Let us recall the heroism of the Baku oil workers, who in 1920 in the most difficult conditions restored the oil fields to production and began supplying the Soviet Republic with the oil it needed so much.

Let us recall the first five-year plan: the men of Baku fulfilled the oil production plan in two and a half years. Lastly, let us recall the exploits of your city in the years of the Great Patriotic War when fuel from Baku permitted our tanks and planes to engage in mortal combat with fascism. In a word, the deeds of the people of Baku are inscribed in letters of gold throughout the life story of the Soviet land.

Baku itself has changed beyond recognition in conditions of socialism. Mayakovsky once wrote that there was pitifully little verdure in the city: "... only about 18 meagre leaves or so." It is even difficult now to imagine that that was really the case.

The sombre old "black city" is long gone. In its place is beautiful Baku, broad, high and spacious with a population of almost 1,500,000. It is a pleasure to see the greenery of its parks and the bright hues of the flowers, the modern enterprises, the streets lined with bright beautiful houses, and your latest acquisition, the Metro.

The working pulse of Baku is beating strongly. All the economic regions of our country and many countries in the world receive its industrial products.

In short, Baku is the worthy capital of a republic which has under the sun of socialism in a brief period of history become a flourishing land of modern industry, developed agriculture and advanced culture.

When I spoke here in Baku in the autumn of 1970, I drew the attention of Party, government and economic bodies of the republic to the lag in the rate of increase in industrial production, to the shortcomings in the development of agriculture and to the inadequate use of hidden reserves. I can say today that you drew the proper conclusions from this criticism.

The state of affairs has clearly improved. This is the result of the purposeful organisational, political, ideological and educational work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the Party organisation of the republic; it is the outcome of the vigorous labour efforts of the entire people of Azerbaijan. It reflects a healthier situation and an improved moral and psychological atmosphere which had an immediate effect on the results of your economic activity.

Azerbaijan is making great strides ahead. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan period and in the first two years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period, your industry has produced almost as much as it did in the previous 15 years. As for the growth rate of overall production, it has reached the level envisaged for the first three years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period. This is not bad at all, comrades. This is a practical response to the decisions of the 25th Congress of the Party and the December, 1977 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

What you are doing in the field of agriculture also gives us cause to rejoice.

In the period from 1971 to 1977 you have raised the average annual output of raw cotton by nearly one-half in comparison with the Eighth Five-Year Plan period. The annual production of grain has in recent times been raised from the previous level of 600,000-700,000 tons to approximately 1,130,000 tons. Grape- and vegetable-growing is developing very well. In the period from 1971 to 1977

you sold more vegetables to the state than you did in the whole of the preceding 30 years.

Livestock productivity is also rising, though the achievements here are more modest.

Permit me to express confidence that, in fulfilling the decisions of the July Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, you will achieve fresh successes in developing all sectors of agriculture.

The example of development shown by your republic, comrades, graphically demonstrates what fruits are borne by persevering work and the consistent application of the social policy worked out by the Party. This is also shown by the rise in the wellbeing of the people, by the scale of housing construction and the impressive development of culture and science.

The successes of the working people of Azerbaijan are receiving the recognition they deserve. Your republic has held the Red Banner for eight years in a row. This makes you duty-bound to do many things, comrades. We hope you will continue to be faithful to your fine traditions.

In brief, you do have something to be praised for. However, I believe that our celebration will not be spoiled if we also talk about shortcomings and unresolved tasks. Such is the communist business-like style of work, and we will not depart from it.

I particularly wish to draw your attention to the quality of output. Regrettably, it cannot be said so far that everything is all right in your republic. The proportion of top-quality goods amounts to only 8.2 per cent in Azerbaijan. This is much lower than the nationwide indices. At the same time, the efforts of our Party and of the entire people are now directed precisely towards raising quality. The CPSU Central Committee expects that the Party organisation of Azerbaijan and all the working people of the republic will really give the drive for quality their entire attention.

You have much experience in this area—for instance, in the work of the Azerelektrosvet and domestic air-conditioner factories. But the situation should be such that you can be proud of everything made in the republic.

You also have a lot to do in the field of services. It is disappointing that Azerbaijan holds one of the last places in the country for per capita volume of public services. I hope that you will take the necessary steps to put things in order in this sphere.

Yet another question that practice raises today is the use of labour resources. In Azerbaijan, as in the other republics of the Caucasus, as well as in Central Asia, a considerable part of the able-bodied population is still not involved in social production. I know that a number of measures are being taken to change this state of affairs, but this work should be done more energetically.

There are many useful approaches here. First of all, it is necessary to make more effective use of production assets, and to ensure

that equipment is working at full capacity, which it certainly is not doing in many enterprises in the republic.

We must be able to look forward. The increase in oil production has its natural limits. Even today Azerbaijan is not a country of oil derricks alone. It has developed machine-building, chemical, electrical engineering, electronic and radio engineering industries, non-ferrous metals industry and other branches of industry. You must continue to improve the structure of industry, proceeding from the interests of the republic and of the national economy of the country as a whole.

Assistance to other areas of the country should not be forgotten either. Thus, the development of new territories and new resources awaits young workers all over the huge expanses of our Motherland. I know that thousands of Azerbaijanians are working in the Tyumen oil region, on the BAM project and elsewhere. This is a good example, particularly for your youth.

Comrades, all over the country Soviet people are working hard, carrying out the programmes of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. Raising the efficiency and quality of work, our mighty socialist industry is proceeding from success to success. It can already be said that it is doing quite well in fulfilling its plan for the current year.

Much is also being done in agriculture. The July Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee set specific tasks for years ahead for all the branches of the economy connected with agricultural production in one way or another. Their solution will raise the country-side to a qualitatively new level.

The decisions of the plenary meeting have prompted greater exertions in the countryside. Following the example of the *Gigant* state farm in the Don area, a massive nationwide drive has started whose main theme is to give the Motherland more grain and other crop and livestock products, not only to fulfil current plans but also to secure resources for the future in order to be certain of reaching all the targets of the five-year plan as a whole.

It is already possible to say now definitely: we have raised a good crop this year. Many collective and state farms, districts and whole regions have already harvested their cereals and successfully fulfilled their high commitments for the sale of grain to the state. But there are still many things to be attended to.

The decisive stage of the harvesting period has set in. This period, it is well known, is always the most difficult one. In the East of the country cereals have still to be harvested over considerable areas. Fodder is being laid in all over the country and late crops—rice, maize, sunflower, sugar beet, cotton, potatoes and so on—have ripened.

The situation demands an even greater mobilisation of effort and the concerted work of all who are engaged in the harvesting, transportation and storing of the crops, all who are responsible for their preservation and processing. The main thing is to ensure the

correct distribution of forces, to manoeuvre machinery and other resources effectively, and extensively to adopt progressive work patterns. Each harvesting unit, motor vehicle, tractor, and each purveying centre and processing enterprise must literally work round the clock in the most efficient manner.

In animal husbandry it is now particularly important to create adequate stocks of varied fodder at every unit and to make timely and effective arrangements for the wintering of livestock.

It is also necessary to take thought for the morrow: to complete in time all the work relating to next year's harvest—to sow winter crops at the optimal time, to plough all land allotted to spring crops and to lay in stocks of high-quality seed.

All this will lay a good basis for successfully implementing the extensive agricultural programme laid out by the July Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee.

In brief, comrades, our country is a veritable hive of activity at present. We have many things to do and there will probably be more to do in the future. We have great achievements to our credit, but we also have quite a few tasks to solve. To be actively concerned for the common cause and to make high demands upon oneself and others have always been and will be a major guarantee of success in all our work.

Soviet people do not reconcile themselves to obstacles in the way of their advance, to all forms of deception of the people and the state. It is good that they react so sharply to such things. It is necessary to attach the greatest importance to criticisms coming from the working people.

There is nothing more harmful for the interests of the Party and the people than attempts to hush up shortcomings, to avoid justified criticism, to silence it, not to speak of suppressing criticism and persecuting those who criticise.

Regrettably, we still come across such things.

Workers in ministries and administrative departments, as well as in the leading bodies of republics and regions, do not always deem it necessary to respond in the proper way to criticism, including criticism in the press. There have even been cases of pressure being brought to bear upon those who criticise.

There have also been cases when issues of the satirical news-reel *Fitil* (the Time Fuse), dealing with a particular region of the country, have not been shown there on the instructions of local leaders. Who gave them the right to issue such orders?

The suppression of criticism, comrades, violates the norms of communist morality and the Fundamental Law of the USSR. This is an evil which should not be left unpunished. We highly value the people's initiative and no one will be allowed to undermine this source of our strength!

I speak about this here not because I consider the situation among you in Azerbaijan to be particularly unsatisfactory. The

republican Party organisation has already done a good deal in this respect. But this is a problem relevant to the country as a whole. In the final analysis, it is a question of creating the most favourable possible conditions for our social progress and for the accomplishment of the great tasks of communist construction.

Permit me now to dwell on certain international questions.

As you know, meetings with leaders of the fraternal Parties of the socialist states, including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland and Romania were held recently in the Crimea, meetings which, one may say, have already become traditional summer ones.

With each of these countries we have wide-ranging and very fruitful links which are growing from year to year. Cooperation between the fraternal countries has great new prospects. Practice raises new problems which should be tackled and resolved. We believe this to be a major Party matter. This concerns relations with our closest friends, allies and associates in the struggle for our common communist objectives.

We highly value bilateral meetings as a form of concerting our positions. They help to indicate the general line which the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty jointly lay down at the meetings of their Political Consultative Committee.

Much attention was paid in our talks to key problems of the international situation.

As you know, the situation today is a complex one. Its aggravation is caused by the unwillingness of the more hard-headed imperialist circles to take a reasonable attitude towards the new correlation of forces in the world, and also by schemes, which are absolutely unrealistic and dangerous to peace, for achieving military superiority over the socialist countries and dictating conditions to them.

The Washington session of the NATO Council pointed the way to another upswing in the arms race, one which will extend over decades. This completely lays bare the real purposes of the organisers of the ballyhoo about the alleged "military threat" to the West from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty. These inventions have become necessary to justify NATO's desire to get a longer and sharper sword and to try and return to the "position-of-strength" policy.

Is not this the reason why the elaboration of a mutually acceptable agreement with the United States on the limitation of strategic offensive armaments still cannot be completed? Yet, the positions of the two sides on this problem as stated at the talks are not so very far apart and, given good-will and statesmanship, the gap can certainly be bridged. But, evidently, a solution of this question does not suit those in the United States who want not lasting peace and mutually beneficial cooperation but a new version of the cold war.

Virtually the same objectives are pursued by the vociferous propaganda campaign started in connection with the steps taken by Soviet courts against the illegal activities of certain individuals who are hostile to the Soviet system, among them paid agents of Western intelligence services.

This is a direct attempt to meddle in our internal affairs and therefore a flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Final Act adopted in Helsinki. The USA is acting in the same manner towards other socialist countries as well.

The opponents of detente are seeking to broaden the front of the offensive against it. The development of business contacts has begun to be held back in the United States on artificial and hypocritical pretexts. Things have gone so far that deals that have already been concluded are being nullified and signed contracts scrapped. The pointed curtailment of contacts in scientific, technical and other spheres has begun. Washington has started unceremoniously—but, incidentally, rather unsuccessfully—to put pressure on its allies, demanding that they follow suit.

Evidently certain influential circles in the USA are deliberately trying to provoke the Soviet Union in a bid to further aggravate the situation. This, comrades, is a serious matter. We will resolutely oppose encroachments on the rights and interests of the Soviet state and we will not fall for provocations.

Our policy towards the countries of the capitalist world, including, of course, the United States, was and remains a policy of peace, peaceful coexistence and peaceful cooperation. That is why we resolutely reject the practice of outside interference in the internal affairs of states and violation of their sovereign rights.

We regard it as the fundamental task of our foreign policy to do everything possible to end the arms race and to consolidate peace and the security of nations. And we believe that all states, large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, have the right to reliable security.

So let no one have any doubt that the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community will continue to make a substantial contribution towards the accomplishment of these tasks, which are so important to the whole of mankind!

The major problems that should be resolved if we want lasting peace and international stability include, of course, a just peace settlement in the Middle East. The situation there remains complex and potentially dangerous both to the countries in that area and to the international situation as a whole.

The reason for this is the stubborn refusal of Israel and the forces on which it relies to take account of the legitimate rights and interests of the Arab people, and Israel's desire, militarily or diplomatically but in either case from positions of strength, to impose its will on the Arabs.

The heaviest reliance in efforts to achieve this end has of late been placed on the method of separate behind-the-scenes deals with those who are willing to trade Arab interests. The scheme is absolutely clear: to split the Arabs, to set them at loggerheads and to impose conditions of settlement that suit the aggressor on one Arab country after another.

But any attempts to ignore the fundamental prerequisites of a bona fide solution of the Middle East problem, to exclude or circumvent one or another legitimate participant in the settlement, to sacrifice their interests and to dictate conditions to them can produce nothing but the illusion of a settlement. Whatever the "framework" of the separate deal camouflaging the capitulation of one side and perpetuating the results of aggression by the other, the aggression of Israel, it can only make the situation in the Middle East even more explosive.

This is demonstrated by the experience of the recent American-Israeli-Egyptian talks in Camp David. Here we have another anti-Arab deal between Israel and Egypt, worked out with Washington's active participation.

Attempts are now being made to compel the other parties to the Middle East conflict to accept the conditions of this deal, which was worked out behind their backs and directly contravenes their interests. Frankly, this task is far from easy. It is obvious even today that the Arabs are resolutely condemning the separate deal in Camp David and are angrily dissociating themselves from it. These sentiments are not hard to understand.

The experience of many years irrefutably proves that there is only one way for a genuine solution of the Middle East conflict. This way consists in the complete evacuation of all the Arab lands occupied by Israel in 1967, complete and unambiguous respect for the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to form an independent state, and the guaranteeing of real security for all the countries in the region, including, of course, Israel. Such a comprehensive settlement can only be possible with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The sooner this is achieved, the sooner the Middle East will cease to be a seat of tension.

While I am here in Azerbaijan, it is natural for me to say a few words about an international event of great importance which has recently taken place in Afghanistan, a country traditionally friendly to the Soviet Union and situated close to you. As you know, a people's revolution took place there resulting in the overthrow of the semifeudal regime and the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The imperialists, who in practice do not recognise any right of peoples to decide their destiny of their own free will and the right to social progress, hurried to spread the worn-out tale about "Moscow's hand". These allegations are a stain on Soviet policy

and, at the same time, an offence to the freedom-loving Afghan people who are bound to us by close bonds of sincere friendship and mutual respect.

We hail the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, an independent and peace-loving non-aligned state, and we are convinced that it will become a major factor for peace and stability in that part of Asia. We appreciate the determination expressed by the new Afghanistan to develop and deepen friendly relations with our country.

Already now our relations are lively and rich in content. We are convinced that they will further develop successfully for the benefit of both countries and for the cause of peace in Asia, without doing any harm to the interests of third countries. We shall do everything to strengthen our traditional friendship with this good neighbour.

Comrades, that is all I wanted to tell you on this festive occasion for all of us. And now permit me to read the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

(L. I. Brezhnev reads the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on Awarding the City of Baku the Order of Lenin and affixes the highest award of the Motherland to the city's banner.)

Dear comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government and on my own behalf I congratulate you once again on this award. Let the portrait of our beloved Lenin on the banner of Baku inspire the working people of your city and the entire republic to new exploits and accomplishments in building communism!

Long live the fraternal, mighty and unshakable union of all the peoples and nations of the great Soviet Land!

SPEECH AT THE RECEPTION ON THE OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE ORDER OF LENIN TO THE CITY OF BAKU

September 22, 1978

Esteemed Geidar Aliyevich,

Dear comrades,

I once again heartily congratulate you on the well-deserved award presented to the city of Baku today. It is at once a great honour to the residents of Baku and a great moral obligation for the future. I am sure you will remain worthy of the confidence of the Fatherland and the Party of Lenin.

I wholeheartedly thank you for the kind words that have been addressed here to our Party's Central Committee, the government, and to me personally. I wholeheartedly thank the Communists and all the working people of Baku for their warm cordial reception. These have been unforgettable days for us.

Yesterday's visit to Baku's enterprises greatly impressed me.

In the excellently organised, modern household air conditioners plant we have seen the present and to a certain extent the future of Azerbaijan's diversified industry.

Soviet Azerbaijan is the cradle of our country's oil extracting and oil refining industry, a school for cadres of our oil workers. The new high-capacity oil refining installation is a reminder that today too Azerbaijan is making a tangible contribution to our country's fuel and energy supplies. Let us hope that through the efforts of the working people of the republic this contribution will become weightier still.

And what remarkable people you have, comrades! Among them are both seasoned veterans and ardent, daring youth. I am sure that with such people, guided by its Party organisation, Azerbaijan will go on scoring ever greater successes in different sectors of communist construction.

And one more thing, comrades. Remain always loyal to the remarkable internationalist traditions of the Baku working class. Actively carry into life the wise Leninist national policy of our Par-

ty, a policy which is far-sighted and principled, tactful and circumspect. To promote in every way the development and spiritual enrichment of each constituent nation of the Soviet Union and at the same time to give full scope for the great historical process of growth of the cohesion of the Soviet people—such is our road. We will unswervingly advance along this road towards the victory of communism.

I propose a toast:

To the prosperity and fresh successes of Soviet Azerbaijan and its capital city, Baku!

To the militant contingent of the Azerbaijan Communists and to its Central Committee!

To the great mighty Soviet Union and to our glorious Leninist Party!

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE DINNER
GIVEN IN HONOUR OF THE GENERAL
SECRETARY OF THE ARAB SOCIALIST
RENAISSANCE PARTY, PRESIDENT OF THE
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC, HAFIZ AL-ASSAD**

October 5, 1978

Dear Comrade Hafiz al-Assad!

Esteemed Syrian friends!

Comrades!

Permit me to extend a warm welcome in Moscow to our friend and prominent state and political figure in the Arab world, General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, President of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafiz al-Assad.

This time, Comrade Assad, you have come to Moscow not only as the leader of the Syrian Arab Republic. You are also acting on behalf of the other participants of the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation who, at a meeting in Damascus, discussed the present crucial stage in the developments taking place in the Middle East.

There is indeed a need for an exchange of views on the situation that has taken shape. The imperialists and their accomplices in the Middle East have undertaken a series of diplomatic actions with the aim of finding a way out of the deadlocked Egyptian-Israeli talks by means of a separate deal so as to evade a just, comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

We have said more than once, and would like to say again, very definitely, that the way of separate talks and yielding to the aggressor does not bring peace any nearer. It only aggravates the situation in the Middle East still further. Until the causes which gave rise to the Arab-Israeli conflict are removed, and until the consequences of the Israeli aggression are eliminated, there can be no dependable peace in the Middle East.

The organisers of the separate deals act as if there are no Arab countries in the Middle East other than Egypt, whose leadership

bows submissively to American-Israeli dictate. But the Arabs are not mute pawns in a game—they themselves determine their own destiny. Without them no one, going over their heads and ignoring their legitimate rights and interests, will succeed in bringing about a lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict.

In the situation which has been created, there is no more vital task than the rallying together and activation of all forces who are opposed to the capitulatory, anti-Arab course of conduct in Middle East affairs, and who are in favour of action that will permit the peoples of the Middle East to find peace and faith in the morrow. The clearly expressed will of all those who cherish the interests of all the Arab peoples and the cause of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East must help to bring to their senses those who seek to resolve the problems by the roundabout and dishonourable way of separate deals. It is in this light that we view the decisions of the recent meeting in Damascus of the heads of a number of Arab states and the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

I should like to stress that objectively the door for a just resolution of Middle East problems remains open. This is by way of the Geneva Conference, which was specially set up to resolve cardinal questions relating to a comprehensive peaceful settlement in this region.

But such a settlement must mean that Israel will withdraw from all Arab territory occupied by it in 1967. The Arab people of Palestine will be able to set up their own national homeland, their own state. The strictest international guarantees must be given of the security of all states in the region without exception.

By means of this road we are ready to cooperate with other participants of the Geneva Conference, including, it goes without saying, the Palestine Liberation Organisation. And if in Washington they are inclined, as it seems, to forget about the Geneva Conference, and the fact that it has two co-chairmen—the Soviet Union and the United States, with all attendant rights and obligations—we are fully mindful of this and shall act accordingly.

We shall continue to pursue a consistent policy aimed at the elimination of dangerous flashpoints of war in the Middle East, all the more so since the location of this region is in direct proximity to the borders of our country and of other Warsaw Treaty countries for that matter.

This policy of ours is an inseparable part of the struggle steadfastly waged by the Soviet Union for ending the arms drive and for real measures of disarmament, for eliminating seats of tension carrying the danger of war, and for imparting a deeper content to detente, and extending it to all regions of the world.

Esteemed Comrade President!

The Soviet Union, Syria and other progressive Arab countries stand arm in arm in the struggle against the intrigues of imperialism and reaction, in the struggle for peace, freedom, and the inde-

pendence of peoples. And this is no phenomenon born of expediency, but an expression of an identity of fundamental long-term interests, proven by time, in other words, a strategic policy line, forged in joint struggle.

In the Soviet Union, the course followed by the Syrian leadership for the all-round development and consolidation of the friendship and cooperation between our countries is highly appreciated. We, for our part, are also ready to expand more widely the framework of our many-sided cooperation and, above all, in the political field, to find mutually beneficial solutions to the practical questions posed by life. We are for the dynamic development of cooperation with Syria and other Arab states in world affairs.

I propose a toast to the health of the General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and President of the Syrian Arab Republic, Comrade Hafiz al-Assad!

To the unity of the Arab countries and peoples in the struggle for the triumph of justice and for a lasting peace in the Middle East!

To the friendship of the Soviet and Arab peoples!

**SPEECH AT THE GALA MEETING ON THE
OCCASION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE ALL-UNION LENINIST YOUNG
COMMUNIST LEAGUE AT THE KREMLIN
PALACE OF CONGRESSES**

October 27, 1978

Dear comrades, Komsomol members,
Dear Party and Komsomol veterans,
Dear foreign guests,
Dear friends,

The Central Committee of our Party has taken the decision to award a commemorative Red Banner of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League in connection with its 60th anniversary and to mark the great services of the Komsomol in building communism.

This is a special award. The Red Banner is a symbol of the revolution, a symbol of selfless struggle for the freedom and happiness of working people.

Under the red banner the Bolsheviks headed by the great Lenin led the working people to the barricades, to the assault on the Winter Palace, to the assault on the old world. With that banner the Soviet people under the leadership of their Communist Party won historical victories of worldwide importance in bloody battles against the Nazi aggressor and in building a new society and today are confidently marching along the road of building communism.

Millions upon millions of people on the planet are now rallying under revolutionary banners; this is the progressive, natural course of history.

The Red Banner is an award to all generations of Komsomol members.

To those who charged forth in the swift attacks of the First Cavalry Army, to those who built the Dnieper hydropower station and the Magnitogorsk iron-and-steel combine, and to those who hoisted the Banner of Victory over the Reichstag.

To those who rehabilitated the war-ravaged national economy and developed the virgin lands.

To those who today answer the call of their Komsomol hearts and work in factories and on construction sites, in the fields and on farms, to those who have devoted themselves to education and public health, to those who stand guard over the peace and security of their beloved Homeland.

In short, to all those who selflessly work for the implementation of the magnificent plans for building communism.

Way back at the Third Congress of the Komsomol in October, 1920 Lenin urged Komsomol members to make the building of communism their lifelong task, urged them to work "in such a way that every day, in every village and city, the young people shall engage in the practical solution of some problem of labour in common, even though the smallest or the simplest". These are Lenin's words.

These words of Lenin remain a programme of action for you, the Soviet youth of the 1970s.

The Komsomol today remains Lenin's shock-work team whose tens of millions of members, young enthusiasts, are doing great things. They are not only building a railroad stretching from the Baikal beyond the Amur River across the taiga, mountains and permafrost, transforming the non-black-earth zone and erecting major hydropower stations on the Yenisei and the Angara—they are advancing the whole of our communist cause, confirming by their own example the truth of Marxism-Leninism and combining the achievements of contemporary science with work for the good of the people.

The 25th CPSU Congress formulated practical and at the same time ambitious tasks for the social, economic and cultural development of our Soviet Homeland. Every day now we cover as much ground as we did in weeks and even months in the past. This sets in relief the significance of everything we are doing and the responsibility that we Communists and Komsomol members have assumed of our own volition, because of our convictions. Responsibility for everything, success and failure alike. Responsibility for achieving such a level of organisation and consciousness and such a development of the productive forces that will make the communist ideals a reality.

In presenting the Red Banner to our young replacement we Communists firmly believe that the Leninist Komsomol will continue to justify with honour the trust of the Party and to devote all its efforts to the good of our socialist Homeland!

I congratulate you, dear friends, with all my heart on the honourable and high award of the Party.

Be always faithful to the Banner of the Revolution!

Let the Red Banner with the image of the great Lenin inspire you to new accomplishments in the name of the triumph of communism!

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE
PRESENTATION OF THE ORDER OF LENIN
AND THE GOLD STAR MEDAL OF HERO OF
THE SOVIET UNION TO MARSHAL OF THE
SOVIET UNION D. F. USTINOV, MEMBER OF
THE POLITBUREAU AND MINISTER OF
DEFENCE OF THE USSR**

November 1, 1978

Dear Dmitry Fyodorovich,
Dear comrades,

The life and working career of Dmitry Fyodorovich Ustinov, a prominent Party member and statesman, has been a vivid example of dedicated service to our Armed Forces, to the cause of defending our country.

At the age of fourteen, he volunteered for the Red Army. While still a youth, he had already mapped out his future career. He finished an institute, worked as a designer and engineer, and headed a big plant—each of his jobs was connected with strengthening the economic and defence might of the country.

You, Dmitry Fyodorovich, were 32 when mortal danger threatened the country—the danger of a fascist invasion. In that terrible and critical hour the Party trusted you with the post of People's Commissar for Armaments.

Is there any need to describe the enormous tasks you shouldered? Is there any need to mention that only an outstanding organiser, a highly qualified specialist and convinced Communist and Leninist could have coped with them? This is clear without extra comment.

The Party and the Soviet people are profoundly grateful to you for your contribution to the great victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism, for your selfless dedication, in other words, your heroism.

Your services to the Soviet Armed Forces and our country have also been significant in the post-war period in solving highly com-

plicated scientific and technical problems relating to the development of reliable modern types of weapons. The day will come when a great deal will become known, my dear friend, about your participation in the work to develop space rocket technology and to achieve man's—Soviet man's—breakthrough into space.

Two years ago the Party placed you at the head of the Ministry of Defence.

By the nature of things this is one of the most militant spheres. But the work of the military in our country is work for peace. For our power is not and never will be turned against other peoples. It acts as a stern warning to those who have designs on that which does not belong to them, who threaten the interests of our country, the interests of the entire socialist community. Since there are still adventurists, peace in the world depends on the combat readiness and fighting efficiency of our Armed Forces. Since Lenin's very first decree the plans and concerns of the Land of Soviets have been focussed on peace.

My congratulations to you, Dmitry Fyodorovich, on your birthday. It gives me particular pleasure to present you with the Order of Lenin and the Star of Hero of the Soviet Union in recognition of your services.

I know that this award, too, you will bear as fittingly and as modestly as you do the two stars of Hero of Socialist Labour. I am certain that as before your work and your efforts will be devoted to the good of the Soviet Motherland, to our great Party, to the immortal cause of communism.

With all my heart I wish you the best of health, inexhaustible energy and great happiness.

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE DINNER IN
HONOUR OF THE DELEGATION OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM AND THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC
OF VIETNAM HEADED BY GENERAL
SECRETARY OF THE CPV CENTRAL
COMMITTEE LE DUAN AND MEMBER OF THE
POLITBUREAU OF THE CPV CC, PRIME
MINISTER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SRV
PHAM VAN DONG**

November 3, 1978

Dear Comrade Le Duan,

Dear Comrade Pham Van Dong,

Dear members of the Party and government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam,

Comrades and friends,

We are sincerely glad to see as guests of our country a Party and government delegation of fraternal Vietnam headed by the respected leaders of the Vietnamese people and our good friends Comrades Le Duan and Pham Van Dong.

We met leaders of Vietnam in the difficult years of the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle against American aggression. We also met after you won a historic victory over the aggressor and its henchmen and your country was faced with tasks of peaceful construction. And every time we found common ground in the interests of the peoples of both countries and the cause of peace and socialism.

Although I have said it before, I will repeat it again: for the Soviet Communists solidarity with Vietnam is dictated by both their hearts and mind. Soviet-Vietnamese friendship is based on commonly-held interests and aims, and rests on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

At the present complicated moment when the policy of the Chinese leadership has created considerable new difficulties for socialist construction on Vietnamese soil, the strength of our friendship, the strength of solidarity between countries of the socialist community is of special significance.

We are confident that the Vietnamese people, aided and supported by all fraternal peoples, will overcome the present difficulties, too, will carry out, under the leadership of their Communist Party, all the tasks set by the 4th Congress of the Vietnamese Communists, and build a strong and prosperous socialist state.

These past days we have had with our Vietnamese comrades a wide-ranging exchange of views on all current problems of our relations and on major international questions. We have reached complete mutual understanding and have again found that we share common approaches and assessments.

As a result of the talks, we have just signed a document of great, indeed historic, significance—a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

What is the meaning of this treaty and what are its most salient features?

To begin with, it is called upon to serve the interests of the peaceful constructive efforts of our peoples, the interests of socialist and communist construction in our countries. This is the main point.

The treaty is called upon to make the fraternal friendship of the peoples of our countries still closer and firmer. By acting together, we become stronger politically, economically and in other areas of social life.

Our treaty is an expression of the genuine comradeship that unites the fraternal countries of socialism. It continues the fine traditions of countries of the socialist community, which have put their relations on a solid basis through treaties. It serves the interests of all fraternal countries, promoting their international positions.

With this treaty the Soviet Union and Vietnam confirm the fundamental trend of their foreign policy. We are for a firmer peace in Asia and the rest of the world, for just and equal international relations.

The Soviet-Vietnamese treaty has been concluded between two equal, independent and peace-loving states. And it does not contain a single line that dictates to anyone whatsoever another people's will or that infringes on the interests of a third country.

I am sure that all those who want lasting peace will welcome the news that a Soviet-Vietnamese Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation has been concluded.

At the same time it is possible to guess that it will go against the grain with those who dislike friendship between the USSR and Viet-

nam, who count on the building up of tensions and on estrangement between the socialist countries.

However, the treaty has already become a political reality. And whether they like it or not, this reality will have to be reckoned with.

Dear comrades,

We are looking to the future with optimism and confidence. Boundless horizons are opened up before the peoples of our countries, equal members of the mighty family of the socialist community. The great leaders of revolution—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in Soviet Russia and Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam—have laid down the groundwork for our states, have given a decisive impetus to their development and have mapped out our course. We are proud to say that we have been following this course faithfully.

Let me propose a toast:

To firm and unbreakable friendship between the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam!

To a lasting peace and security in the world!

To the heroic Vietnamese people!

To the health and successes of Comrades Le Duan, Pham Van Dong and all our Vietnamese friends!

SPEECH AT THE RECEPTION AT THE KREMLIN PALACE OF CONGRESSES ON THE OCCASION OF THE 61ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

November 7, 1978

Dear comrades,

Esteemed guests,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR I warmly greet and congratulate you on the holiday of the Great October Revolution.

Another year has elapsed since the event which opened up radiant horizons in the life of all humanity. What kind of year was it? As always, it was diverse—clear days alternated with overcast skies, and not only on the weather front.

But, summing up the results, the Soviet people can say with satisfaction that through their labour they have raised our Motherland to new heights.

Both our socialist industry and agriculture have achieved good results. We are pleased by our scientists who have added to the treasure-trove of knowledge. The workers in the cultural, educational and public health fields have done their best to make the life of Soviet citizens still more meaningful and interesting spiritually, as well as more healthy. A great deal has been done to raise the wellbeing of the Soviet people.

In cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and other states and peoples the Soviet Union is successfully upholding the cause of peace. Despite the intrigues of the forces of reaction and aggression, peace has not become less stable. The faith that peace is achievable grows stronger in the consciousness of hundreds of millions of people. And it will grow still stronger in the future, because there is no more precious blessing than the blessing of peace.

On this great holiday the Party warmly congratulates the Soviet working class and peasantry, the intelligentsia and members of the

Soviet Army and Navy and thanks them for their active and creative participation in implementing the decisions of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We send ardent greetings to the working people of the fraternal socialist states, to all the friends of the Soviet Union abroad and to all the fighters for the interests of working people, for freedom and national independence, for social progress and lasting peace on earth!

It is with special warmth that we greet the leaders of the heroic Vietnamese people present here together with us, Comrades Le Duan and Pham Van Dong.

Allow me to propose a toast: to the great Soviet people, to the happiness of each Soviet citizen and each Soviet family, to our glorious Leninist Party, to new triumphs in communist construction and to world peace!

SPEECH AT THE PRESENTATION OF DECORATIONS TO SOVIET COSMONAUTS V. V. KOVALYONOK AND A. S. IVANCHENKOV

November 15, 1978

Dear comrades,

The successful accomplishment of the longest-ever space flight, that of the world-famous *Salyut-6-Soyuz* complex is an enormous victory of Soviet science and technology, knowledge and skill, the will and heroism of the Soviet people.

Two Soviet men, two Communists—Vladimir Kovalyonok and Alexander Ivanchenkov lived and worked in space for one hundred and forty days and nights. Yuri Gagarin's flight lasted 108 minutes and the flight of Kovalyonok and Ivanchenkov 140 days. Only twenty years separate these two missions! Frankly speaking, at the dawn of the space age one could hardly have dreamt of such a sweeping advance of space science.

To live long in space in such an unusual environment is an exploit. To work in space, and with so much to show for it at that, as Comrade Kovalyonok and Comrade Ivanchenkov have done, is a double exploit. They had lots of things to do. They performed the work of metallurgists, astronomers, geophysicists and biologists—excelling as specialists in various branches of science, technology and the national economy. That is the spacemen's job to serve mankind's progress in the most diverse areas.

Without any hesitation we can say that Comrades Kovalyonok and Ivanchenkov accomplished their space mission brilliantly, and, as always on such occasions, we do remember that an exploit in outer space is also an exploit by scientists and designers and a triumph for the engineers' and workers' skill. Today we thank our space heroes and all those who, down on the ground, did everything required to make the *Salyut-6-Soyuz* complex work dependably and smoothly.

No matter how far away from home, their native land, the Earth, our spacemen worked, every minute of their flight they had all the Soviet people and the people of the fraternal socialist coun-

tries at their side. Comrades Kovalyonok and Ivanchenkov carried out a vast research and experimental programme together with their space twins from the Polish People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic. That was yet another practical manifestation of the growing solidarity of the socialist community countries and of our ever expanding cooperation.

Dear comrades, let me fulfil a pleasant mission entrusted to me by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and hand you the Orders of Lenin and Gold Star Medals and, besides, the Pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR Badge to you, Comrade Ivanchenkov.

I warmly congratulate you, dear comrades, on being awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. I wish you the best of health, happiness and more glorious achievements for the good of our Motherland and in the name of communism.

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE DINNER IN
HONOUR OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
PROVISIONAL MILITARY ADMINISTRATIVE
COUNCIL AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
OF SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA MENGISTU HAILE
MARIAM**

November 17, 1978

Esteemed Comrade Mengistu,
Dear Ethiopian guests,
Comrades,

We sincerely welcome the visit of Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam and other leaders of Socialist Ethiopia. In your person, we greet the freedom-loving people of Ethiopia and the victorious Ethiopian revolution.

The good relations between our peoples have long-standing traditions. The Soviet Union has always firmly and actively supported the independence and freedom of Ethiopia.

After the birth of Socialist Ethiopia, relations of close friendship and all-round cooperation were firmly established between our countries.

These relations are based on the community of interests of socialist states and developing countries, on the desire to pool efforts in the struggle for the independent development of the peoples and social progress, for a lasting peace, against aggression and the arms race.

Today, the countries of Africa have greatly strengthened their role in international affairs. Imperialists are no longer able to discount their opinion. In these conditions it is of special importance to consolidate the solidarity and the unity of action of those African states which come out for a just peace, against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

The activity of the Organisation of African Unity in this direction meets with the full understanding and support of the Soviet Union.

The colonialists left the African states a multitude of problems that are still a matter of concern. It is precisely the imperialists who are most interested in conflicts, which from time to time flare up in Africa, say, because of territorial disputes. They are trying to exploit these conflicts for their own aims, fomenting strife between African countries and setting them one against another.

Life shows that to reliably ensure the independence and progress of the African countries, it is necessary to foil the intrigues of imperialism and its henchmen, of those who sow discord and advocate the "divide and rule" principle.

And if African statesmen are able to resolve arising disputes not by force of arms, but at the negotiations table, on the basis of mutual respect for the independence, territorial integrity and respect for the borders that have been established, this will benefit the interests of their peoples, the cause of progress for the whole of Africa and the cause of universal peace.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it respects the right of every people to choose its road of development independently. The USSR resolutely opposes interference in the internal affairs of the African states, violation of their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

It is from these positions that we also approach today's problems in Africa and the areas adjoining it.

We know, Comrade Mengistu, that the situation in the Horn of Africa is still complex. Imperialist circles are using the tensions that remain there in their own interests. Needless to say that this affects in the first place the interests of the peoples of the Horn of Africa.

The situation in the South of Africa remains an acute international problem. The notorious plans of the Western powers directed, as they say, at turning over power in Namibia and Rhodesia to the hands of the African majority, in fact do not bring closer, but instead delay the attainment of genuine independence by the peoples of that area. Things are as a matter of fact reduced to attempts to preserve the old essence of the racist regimes under new labels.

It would also be wrong to ignore such a factor as the military cooperation of the imperialist countries of the West with the Republic of South Africa. It is not only the stronghold of racism and reaction in Africa, but also a military threat to the neighbouring countries.

The countries of Africa and Asia are ever more clearly aware of the danger of imperialist attempts to restore in a new form their domination in that part of the world. This is seen, in particular, in the developments in the Middle East, particularly in the results of the Baghdad meeting of heads of states and governments of the Arab countries.

We welcome the decisions adopted at this meeting as a great achievement for the patriotic forces of the Arab world. The unanimous condemnation of the Camp David deal by the leaders of the Arab countries is an important political factor. Its significance can hardly be overestimated.

The decisions taken in Baghdad will play, I am sure, a great positive role in the struggle for a genuine Middle East settlement. And this accords with the interests of all those who want a lasting peace.

Dear comrades, under the guidance of their tested revolutionary leaders the people of Ethiopia have courageously repelled foreign invasion, upheld the gains of the revolution and their country's territorial integrity. Now you are faced with the enormous tasks of peaceful construction, of implementation of the ideals of the revolution. We wish you great successes in this noble cause.

I propose a toast to the successes of the Ethiopian revolution, To friendship between the peoples of the USSR and Socialist Ethiopia,

To the health of Comrade Mengistu Hailc Mariam.

To the health of all our guests from friendly Ethiopia!

REPLY TO A "PRAVDA" CORRESPONDENT

November 19, 1978

Question: How do you assess foreign press reports on the Western powers' interference, especially the USA, in the events in Iran and even the possibility of their intervening militarily?

Answer: Yes, there have been such reports, including reports on the possibility of military intervention by certain powers. What puts one on guard is the fact that officials of the states concerned actually do not deny such reports. If they do deny attempts to interfere in Iran's internal affairs—as was done recently by the US President—they immediately make reservations which do not exclude the possibility of such interference under an appropriate excuse.

The Soviet Union, which maintains traditional good-neighbour relations with Iran, states resolutely that it is against foreign interference in the internal affairs of Iran by anyone, in any form and under any pretext. The events taking place in that country constitute a purely internal affair and the questions arising from them should be decided by the Iranians themselves. All states should abide in this matter by the principles recorded in the UN Charter and in a number of other basic international documents, and should respect the sovereignty and independence of Iran and the Iranian people.

It must also be clear that any interference, especially military interference in the affairs of Iran—a state which directly borders on the Soviet Union—would be regarded by the USSR as a matter affecting its security interests.

SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN IN HONOUR OF THE DELEGATIONS AT THE CONFERENCE OF THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WARSAW TREATY MEMBER STATES

November 23, 1978

Dear comrades,

A few hours ago the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation concluded its work. We exchanged views on a large number of problems which time and life themselves had raised before our countries and we adopted an important political document summing up our common views.

I think that our conference provided clear-cut answers to at least three important questions.

The first question concerns the real state of affairs existing at present. What I have in mind is our joint detailed analysis of the international situation, an assessment of its positive and negative aspects, and of its most important trends. In spite of the more intensive activities of the forces opposed to détente, we are not at all pessimistic. There is every possibility to continue improving the political climate in the world.

Together we also decided about the course of action. The most important thing to be done is to build up international security based on disarmament rather than the arms race, and to secure, not in words but in deeds, greater respect for the sovereign rights of all states and all peoples. This would then open up new horizons for world cooperation both on the European continent and everywhere in the world, and the edifice of peace would stand firm.

And finally, our conference gave us the answer to the question as to how to achieve these goals. We must move together, so that we can act in harmony; we must act in solidarity with those fighting for the freedom and independence of peoples; we must link our efforts with all those who want to see a peaceful sky over our planet and people living happily.

The entire experience of the world socialist system is proof that our unity serves the national interests of every socialist country.

and is a decisive factor in strengthening the international position of socialism.

We were happy to be able to welcome in Moscow our comrades-in-arms, the leaders of the fraternal parties and countries. Each one of these meetings is a very significant and useful event. Also significant in its own way is our present conference which has enabled us to draw important and necessary conclusions for our policy.

I wish you further success, dear friends, in all your work.

I would like to propose a toast:

To the friendship, to the inviolable solidarity of the fraternal countries of socialism!

To the health of our friends tried and true!

To peace and communism!

SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF RECEIVING THE DIMITROV PRIZE

November 23, 1978

Dear Comrade Zhiykov,

I am deeply grateful to you for the kind words you have said about me, and for your high assessment of the work of our Leninist Party.

At this moment, as I accept the International Dimitrov Prize, I certainly think, first of all, of the man whose name it bears, the great son of Bulgaria for whom the Soviet Land was a second home.

The pivot of Georgi Dimitrov's life was the consistent and passionate struggle he waged against fascism and war, to ensure the happiness of the Bulgarian people, the unity of the communist movement, and to overcome the split in the international working class. Georgi Dimitrov's thoughts and deeds remain a vivid and instructive page in the history of communism.

Of course, revolutionary practice continually nurtures revolutionary theory with new ideas. Moreover, revolutionary changes are always a creative activity. But a key to the solution of the tasks, which the contemporary epoch sets before Communists—as in the past period of historical development—lies in militant solidarity and in joint actions.

The Soviet and Bulgarian Communists bear high the banner of internationalism. Soviet-Bulgarian friendship has flourished under this banner. Under this banner, side by side with the other fraternal countries, we build and develop the most just and noble relations between peoples and strive for the triumph of the ideals of peace, democracy and progress.

And, of course, to me, as a Communist, it is great happiness to participate directly in this work.

I thank you very much for the honorary award.

SPEECH AT THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE *

November 27, 1978

Comrades,

Today we are studying the drafts of the plan and the budget for 1979. As always, this will enable us to get a more concrete and complete idea of the general state of affairs in the economy, the scale of the successes we have achieved and of the tasks facing us, as well as the roads leading to their solution.

Three years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period have passed. They were good years. We have managed to achieve much. Much has changed for the better. The Soviet people and the Communist Party are living a full and active life, persistently working to fulfil the socio-economic programme set forth by the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

This year I visited Siberia and the Far East, Byelorussia and Azerbaijan. There were various meetings and various impressions, and various problems were discussed. But everywhere I saw and felt the tremendous confidence of people in their strength, in the correctness of our Party's domestic and foreign policy course.

Indeed, all that was done during the past three years alone can only instil confidence that the road which we are following, comrades, is the correct, Leninist road.

The fixed production assets of the national economy have been substantially expanded and renewed during these years. They grew by 195,000 million roubles and by the end of the present year will reach 100,000,000 million roubles. This is a very weighty increment. In fact, it amounts to the entire fixed production assets that existed early in the 1960s.

We often and rightly criticise builders. But fairness demands that we note their tremendous contribution to the building up of the country's economic might. More than 700 big industrial enterprises were built. These include the Lisichansk oil refinery, the oxygen-

converter complex at the Azovstal plant and a blast-furnace at the Novolipetsk plant. Among them are the first section of the KAMAZ motor works, the Neftekamsk plant of dump trucks and the wool spinning mill in Krivoi Rog. Europe's biggest Zaporozhye and Uglegorsk thermal power plants have reached full capacity.

The rapid growth of economic potential is a result of the dynamic development of industry. Output during the three years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period exceeded by 450,000 million roubles the output during the first three years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan period. Quite a tangible difference, as you see.

The creation and development of a number of territorial-production complexes, mainly in the East of the country, constitute a fundamentally new situation. These are the West Siberian, Bratsk, Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, Orenburg, Nizhnekamsk and other complexes. During the past three years they accounted for the entire growth in oil production, for nearly the entire increase in gas production, for a considerable part of the increase in power generation, mining of coal and iron ore, and the production of trucks and tractors.

The Party's course of strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture is being pursued purposefully. The power-per-worker ratio in agriculture has grown by more than a quarter. The countryside received more than 230 million tons of mineral fertilisers. The area of irrigated and drained lands has grown by 4.5 million hectares. All this is producing results.

The participants in the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee know that 235 million tons of grain were harvested. And this means that the hard battle for the 1978 harvest was won! The workers in agriculture of the Russian Federation gladdened us with a bumper crop. They sold the state 3,400 million poods of grain. The Ukraine and Kazakhstan again sold the state more than 1,000 million poods each. I want to single out the successes of the Krasnodar and Stavropol Territories, the Orenburg, Rostov, Saratov, Volgograd, Urals and Odessa regions, and the Bashkir Autonomous Republic. The country highly values Byelorussia's considerable contribution to the production of potatoes.

Cotton growers are keeping abreast of the five-year plan's assignments. Uzbek farms sold to the state more than five million tons of cotton. Tajikistan and Azerbaijan have fulfilled their plans. In all, more than eight million tons of raw cotton have been obtained. This is a big success. I hope that the cotton growers will further not only increase production but also improve the quality of cotton.

Positive changes are taking place in livestock breeding. The number of cattle and poultry has increased. But very much has yet to be done in this field.

Successes in economic development have determined some major improvements in the field of the material and cultural standards of the people's life. The assignments to raise the population's cash

* A summary.

incomes, set three years ago, have been fully attained. The retail trade turnover has increased by more than 30,000 million roubles. The volume of public services in terms of money has increased by almost a quarter.

Unflagging attention is being given to achieving an improvement in the housing conditions of working people. About 6.5 million well-planned apartments have been built since the beginning of the five-year plan period. Housing sufficient for a city with a population of half a million now becomes ready for occupation within less than a month. It is indicative that in the new houses almost every Soviet family is given a separate apartment. Many schools and pre-school institutions for children and hospitals have been built.

In short, we have every reason to say that during the three years of the Tenth Five-Year Plan period the country has advanced considerably on every front of economic and social development.

Permit me on behalf of the Party's Central Committee to express heartfelt gratitude to the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia—to all whose selfless work lies at the base of our achievements.

Comrades N. K. Baibakov and V. F. Garbuzov who took the floor today at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee have already said that the plan for 1979 will become yet another important link in the fulfilment of the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. I agree with this view.

Then Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted a number of the plan's merits. The rates of growth of industrial and agricultural production, including the production of consumer goods, are being increased. Labour productivity will grow faster. A number of measures to lessen disproportions in the national economy are under consideration. In the distribution of capital investments emphasis is being made on the development of such key sectors as fuel and energy, metallurgy and transport. The country's defence capabilities are being maintained at the proper level.

One of the major measures of the social programme of the five-year plan—the raising of the wages and salaries of workers in education, public health, culture and other non-productive branches—is to be concluded in 1979. As a result, the earnings of 31 million people will be raised during the Tenth Five-Year Plan period. Additional benefits will be provided for veterans of the Patriotic War.

At the same time, during the discussion of the draft plan at the meeting of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee it was noted that a number of material balances were strained. Some types of resources remain in short supply. On a number of indicators some plan assignments fall somewhat short of the targets of the five-year plan.

Subscribing to these critical remarks, I want to stress that an analysis of shortcomings has always served for us as the starting

point for improving work. In this connection I will dwell on those sectors of the national economy that require the special attention of the Party, government and economic bodies.

Metal and fuel continue to be a restricting factor.

More than 50,000 million roubles were spent during the past three years to ensure the development of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the oil, gas and coal industries, and almost 23,000 million roubles are being allocated for the same purpose in 1979. These, as you see, are considerable sums.

Nevertheless the assignments for the commissioning of industrial plant and the production of ferrous and non-ferrous metals, for the production of coal and oil are not being met to the full. In effect, there is no reduction in the waste and losses suffered in these important types of raw materials and fuel. This creates difficulties in a number of branches of the national economy. I maintain that the present situation is first of all the result of shortcomings in the work of the relevant ministries, of slack control over the fulfilment of plans by enterprises and construction sites. The top officials of these ministries should draw the proper conclusions.

The situation in capital construction is improving slowly. The main ways of removing shortcomings in this important sphere of the economy were outlined in the Party's decisions.

But there remains a substantial gap between plans and their fulfilment by the building ministries. To this day we have not yet succeeded in stopping the process of scattering capital investments among numerous construction projects. The volume of incomplete construction is growing. Uninstalled equipment worth several thousand million roubles lies uselessly in warehouses. Mention of this has been made more than once. But there are no signs that Gosplan (the State Planning Committee of the USSR—*Ed.*), those who ordered this equipment and the builders are conscious of their responsibility in immobilising these capital investments, equipment and materials.

In this connection Comrade L. I. Brezhnev cited two facts. In 1966 a decision was adopted on the construction of a production shop for coating cold-rolled stock at the Lysvensky metalmaking plant. Twelve years have passed. And the result? Only 28 million of the allocated 126 million roubles have been utilised. Equipment worth tens of millions of roubles stands idle.

The construction of a factory to produce tin cans for canned food was started that same year in Nakhodka. In 1974 the construction was suspended and resumed in 1977. Over a period of twelve years only 11 million out of the allocated 42 million roubles have been used. It is intended to complete the construction only in 1983, that is, seventeen years after it was started.

Such examples show that more rigid demands should be made of those who are responsible for the state of affairs in capital construction. The Council of Ministers of the USSR, the State Planning

Committee, Gosstroi and Stroi bank possess sufficient powers to install order in this most important section of work.

A complex situation has arisen in the field of transport, especially rail transport. I believe you all have first-hand experience of this. In the spring the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee formed a special commission that is taking prompt measures to improve the work of transport. More capital investments will be allocated next year for the development of rail transport than initially envisaged by the five-year plan.

I am convinced that the Party organisations in the republics, territories and regions will give transport agencies the necessary aid and support in raising the efficiency of their work, in strengthening labour and technological discipline, and will intensify control over the fulfilment of plans relating to freight haulage.

Now about some questions connected with agriculture.

The year 1979 will be the first year of the practical implementation of the decisions of the July Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee. The draft plan that we are discussing provides for a high rate of growth of agricultural production. In the case of most products the figures given exceed the maximum level we have achieved in our most successful years. This is determined by the country's growing requirements. It is known that demand for some foodstuffs, especially meat, is not being fully met. It follows from this that a year of hard work lies ahead of the workers in agriculture. Let us wish them new, big successes!

The main thing is to achieve a tangible increase in the production of meat, milk and other products of animal husbandry. The conditions for this exist. There is more livestock at farms. The farms are better supplied with fodder than ever before. It is necessary to organise everywhere the intensive fattening of cattle and its regular delivery to towns and workers' settlements.

More encouragement should be given also to such potentially advantageous undertakings as the rapid development of large-scale broiler breeding, and here inter-farm cooperation should be extensively utilised. The practice of the Crimean, Dnepropetrovsk and several other regions shows that this is a highly effective method both as regards time and the saving of grain.

There exist also considerable other possibilities. Many agricultural complexes do not yet have pigbreeding and dairy farms. The number of such complexes is unfortunately growing. This is hardly correct. Most collective and state farms should supply themselves with their own meat and milk, and not count on government stocks.

The possibilities of auxiliary farms attached to plants and factories and of household plots for the rural population are still being insufficiently exploited. We have adopted resolutions on these matters but so far they are being implemented slowly. We must give more assistance to these farms in the matter of replenishing their livestock and in ensuring the supply of fodder. It is also necessary

to create a definite social climate in which collective farmers and workers of state farms would feel that by raising cattle and poultry on their household plots they are doing something useful, something of importance for the state.

In view of the situation that has arisen in the Baltic area and in a number of regions of the non-black-earth zone of Russia because of cold weather and constant rain, the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee has promptly adopted major measures to assist these areas in ensuring the wintering of cattle and preparing for the new agricultural year. I hope that this assistance will be used effectively.

The decisive indicator of agricultural productivity is, naturally, the growth of output. As the volume of production grows, it becomes ever more important to ensure that this produce is supplied to the consumer with the minimum amount of losses on the way. We have discussed this more than once, but losses of grain, potatoes, vegetables and fruit remain quite considerable.

Such losses are intolerable. Soviet people can understand difficulties caused by weather conditions but they cannot and do not want to accept mismanagement, irresponsibility and negligence as an explanation of existing difficulties. This is why we now say with full reason that the question of losses of grain, vegetables, fruit and cotton is not only an economic matter. It is also an important political matter which directly affects the mood and labour activity of the Soviet people. Every Communist, every economic manager and Party official must be dedicated to protecting the property of the people and those who do not do so must be brought to account in accordance with the general strictness of our Party Rules and Soviet laws. I think that the question of losses, and this, naturally, refers not only to agriculture, must become the subject of business-like, self-critical discussion at Party meetings and conferences, at sessions of Soviets of People's Deputies.

Naturally, when speaking of losses, we must remember that the industries that are called upon to ensure the transportation, storage and processing of farm produce still lag behind the development of agriculture. The construction of grain elevators, the building of facilities for processing sugar beet, meat, dairy products, vegetables and fruit are lagging behind the targets of the five-year plan. Their distribution throughout the country could have been better, too. When discussing these questions at the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, we instructed the State Planning Committee of the USSR to find ways to develop these facilities, possibly also through a reasonable redistribution of some part of the investments allocated for agriculture. It is necessary also to fully use the funds of the collective and state farms themselves to consolidate the base for preserving farm produce.

Comrades! The increase of output, the widening of the assortment and the improvement of the quality of consumer goods remain

one of our key economic tasks. There is, certainly, a marked advance in this sphere. But this must not obscure the fact that the policy aimed at the accelerated development of industries belonging to Group "B" taken by the Party is not being implemented persistently enough by the USSR State Planning Committee and ministries. In the first three years of the current five-year plan period, capital investments and the volume of newly built facilities in Group "B" were less than was planned. The possibilities of increasing the output of consumer goods at heavy industry enterprises are not being exploited to the maximum.

All this, naturally, has a negative effect on our attempts to meet the needs of the Soviet people. This problem has also another aspect: the entire course of economic development confirms again and again that Group "B" industries designated to meet contemporary requirements constitute an important factor without which the economy as a whole cannot function effectively and material incentives cannot be improved. This, it would seem, is obvious. Yet some workers in the planning and economic management bodies continue to regard Group "B" as a sort of balancing wheel. By cutting allocations for its development, they try to overcome disproportions in the plan. It is impossible to agree with such practices.

Ministers, Party and local government executives and economic managers, workers in the planning bodies must exert every effort to speed up the development of industries producing consumer goods.

I would like to express the hope that all of them will work with precisely such zeal in the new economic year.

Now a few words about machine-building. We rightly associate with it the growth of labour productivity and technological progress in all spheres of the national economy. I shall not dwell on the successes and achievements of our machine-builders. They are evident. I shall dwell on something different—machine-building has started lagging somewhat behind the requirement of the national economy.

In anticipation of a smaller growth of manpower resources in the eighties, the Party set in good time the task of creating a machine-building base so as to considerably reduce unproductive manual labour. The eight-year programme for the accelerated development of the production of appropriate equipment was adopted back in 1973. And how is this programme being implemented? Take, for instance, materials handling equipment. Not one of the new plants envisaged by the programme has yet gone into operation.

The responsibility for this is borne, above all, by the Ministry of Heavy Engineering and the Ministry of Road Machine-Building, which are in charge of implementing this programme.

Comrades, the question arises: how are we to explain the fact that, despite our many and obvious successes in economic devel-

opment and the gigantic rise in our economic growth, we have been consistently incapable of eliminating bottlenecks which impede us from advancing faster, more dynamically? For every specific shortcoming there are specific reasons. But here, at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, we must take a principled approach to the question, concentrate attention on the main, basic things.

And the main thing in this case is that the central economic bodies, ministries and departments have been slow in putting the entire economy on an intensive development basis. They have failed to achieve the required improvements in the quality indicators of our work, to speed up scientific and technical progress. Hence the difficulties which restrict faster economic growth.

Then Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed the need for improving the practical work of the planning and economic bodies to meet the high demands set by the Party's directives for the fulfilment of current economic tasks.

All this, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev went on, thrusts managerial and organisational matters to the forefront in our practical work. I have in mind the question of increasing the personal responsibility of leading economic cadres for their work, of keeping more efficient and effective control over the fulfilment of the decisions taken, and—speaking in a broader sense—further improving the management of the national economy.

All our decisions must be supported by well-considered and efficient organisational measures. What must be done, where and in what time limits, who concretely is responsible for a given section of work, who concretely checks on the work done. Every section of the managerial apparatus should clearly see its role and place in tackling crucial economic problems.

It is necessary to place greater demands on ministers and leading executives in various branches of the economy, especially those branches where tasks ripe for solution are still being fulfilled very slowly. The Politbureau considers it necessary for the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and their departments, the local Party and government bodies to tighten control over the implementation of the decisions taken and to raise in due time and with proper emphasis the question of the personal responsibility of those who fail to ensure their implementation.

Why is the question posed in this way? Because a number of decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR are regrettably not being carried out on schedule. At least two considerations follow from this.

First, are not individual economic executives taking Party and government decisions too lightly? Unfortunately, this can happen. And, second, are the decisions taken always well considered and coordinated with the plan and with the financial and material resour-

ces? Far from always. Both one and the other are incompatible with economic planning. Such a situation must be corrected.

There is an increasingly keen awareness of the need for a deep and all-round analysis of the main problems of development of the national economy with a view to further enhancing its efficiency.

As we all understand, a real turn toward efficiency begins with planning. In April, 1979, our country will observe the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the First Five-Year Plan. During this period, tremendous experience, experience which is unique in many respects, has been gained in the planned development of the national economy. But life does not stand still. New tasks call for new solutions, for a creative approach to the organisation of the entire work of economic planning.

Some time ago, the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee adopted a special resolution on the State Planning Committee of the USSR. Its rights have been expanded and its coordinating role enhanced. It is very important that the reorganisation of the work provided for by this resolution should not be reduced to formalities. The very content of planning should be raised to a qualitatively new level. In this connection, the State Planning Committee is to consider in depth many economic problems, to find optimal approaches to their solution which combine a high sense of responsibility with initiative and creative daring.

This is a serious and complicated matter. But it brooks no delay. The State Planning Committee of the USSR is to submit shortly economic projections up to 1990. To this should be added that a considerable portion of work in preparing the draft of the next five-year plan is to be done in 1979. It is necessary from the very beginning to take the right direction in this work.

We are approaching the new five-year plan with a head start. Never before has our country had such a big economic potential, such a developed industry, science and technology. No doubt, the funds allocated for agriculture will yield an increasing return every year. Siberia, the Far East and the North will be producing more and more for the country. Our position in the world economy is expanding. Our fraternal and mutually beneficial cooperation with the CMEA countries is growing. In short, we can rely on a firm and sound basis in tackling our new economic and social tasks.

At the same time, we must take into account the fact that beginning with the 1980s, we shall have to place still greater emphasis on the capital-intensive factors of economic growth, since other factors are narrowing sharply. This refers, first of all, to possibilities for attracting new labour resources. It also refers to natural resources which are vast in our country but which will require growing capital investments for their development.

All this indicates that the plan should cover in full all the tasks set by the December Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee

of last year, that is the rational use of everything our national economy possesses.

This means that emphasis on the ultimate results of production and the search for more effective and economical ways to achieve them should be placed at the centre of the work on the new five-year plan.

This means further that closer attention will have to be given both to inter-branch and intra-branch proportions. Quite a number of questions have cropped up in this respect.

While speaking of these questions Comrade L. I. Brezhnev called attention to the need to further develop the raw materials supply for metallurgy, a number of chemical industries, to renew the stock of metalworking equipment at a faster rate and to develop the infrastructure—roads, transport and communications. Stressing the importance of these questions Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said all of them should be given a fitting place in the relevant plans and practical work.

Finally, the policy aimed at raising efficiency is inseparably bound up with the effort to accelerate scientific and technological progress. Our successes in this field are known to the whole world, but in a number of branches of the national economy the results are still below what they could be. Our scientists, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the State Committee for Science and Technology should concentrate their efforts on basically new scientific ideas and technical solutions and on the key lines of development for the national economy. To this end it is necessary, of course, to pay attention to the development of science itself and to its needs.

Improvement of planning should be accompanied by measures to streamline the entire economic mechanism. The Council of Ministers of the USSR is preparing appropriate proposals and it is very important to complete this work within a short span of time.

In short the task is to raise the level of planning and economic management to meet the requirements of the present stage, the stage of developed socialism.

Thus, the drafting of the new five-year plan is a serious and very responsible test for the State Planning Committee of the USSR, for the republics, for the ministries—for all of us. The more so, since this is in effect preparatory work for the 26th Congress of the Party. This is something we should be thinking about already today, comrades!

Getting back to the draft plan for 1979, I should like to stress the following: after the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet the period of discussions on the distribution of resources, the size of these or other assignments will be over. The draft will become a plan. The plan will become a law. And the emphasis of all our work—political work among the masses and organisational work—will take on another aspect, involving the question: what should be done to fulfil and overfulfil the plan.

The results of the five-year plan and the solution of the tasks which are being discussed at the present plenary meeting will depend, to a great extent, on the further enhancement of the efficiency of all sections of the Party, on the initiative and sense of responsibility of every Communist. Lying at the heart of the present-day activity of all Party organisations, all Party members is the task to mobilise more fully the creative powers of the people, to discover new potentialities of economic growth and to bring them into play.

Now, on the eve of the fourth year of the five-year plan, every Party organisation, every Party committee should analyse the situation in detail and decide what experience it should adopt for use, what forms of work have become outdated and ineffective and how to get rid of the shortcomings that keep us from successfully moving ahead.

The election campaign now being held in the Party offers an excellent opportunity for making such an analysis, for determining the main points to which the Party should apply its efforts. This campaign is highly organised and energetic. How best to carry out the decisions of the 25th Congress and the assignments of the Tenth Five-Year Plan are questions that Communists are vitally interested in and actively discussing.

It is important that this activity should also involve district, city, area, regional and territorial Party conferences. It is necessary to see to it that all sections of the Party emerge from this campaign still more mobilised, still stronger and still more efficient.

We also have such a tried and tested method of increasing our labour successes as the socialist emulation movement. This movement has become truly nationwide in scale and depth, it constantly gives rise to new models of creative work, and is making a constructive contribution towards the development of the national economy.

There are different emulation movements. We do not want noisy gabble about the emulation. What we need is that every worker, every labour collective should be vitally interested in improving the quality of work. We do not need artificial "initiatives". What we need is effective proposals that spring spontaneously from the heart of the masses and are capable of capturing the imagination of and inspiring millions of people. For example the idea that no one should fall behind on the job. It is this kind of initiative that should be popularised.

The guidance of the emulation movement and introduction of what is new and progressive is a vital matter which does not tolerate a backward or conservative outlook. The practical work of front-ranking collectives and individual innovators actually produces an upheaval in the forms and methods of work, in technology and organisational management. What is needed here is persistence, selflessness and, if you like, courage. Here, one has sometimes almost to learn anew to demand the same from others. A person who is afraid

of what is new holds back development. It is on this principle that one should proceed in evaluating cadres, both economic and Party cadres. Efficiency, preciseness and initiative must be developed as fully as possible, as Lenin taught us. These qualities are needed in economic and organisational work and perhaps, to no lesser extent, in political and ideological work among the masses.

Not so long ago, the Politbureau examined the letters received by the CPSU Central Committee on questions concerning ideological work. Communists and non-Party people write in their letters that this work has reached a higher level in recent years. But many letters stress that in this field, just as in any other, the requirements are growing, the tasks are becoming more complicated and the existing level is already insufficient. Anything left undone, any lag in ideological work may do great harm.

I think we should agree with this view of the question. We have a strong and qualified propaganda apparatus, but, unfortunately, this apparatus is not always used effectively. There are not enough principled and major discussions of urgent problems affecting economic and social life. Not infrequently, newspaper articles, television and radio broadcasts lack conviction and serious analysis and are overburdened with general phrases which make no impact on the mind or heart.

Further on Comrade L. I. Brezhnev dwelt on questions regarding information on foreign policy matters and some of its shortcomings.

It is high time, he stressed, to make reporting on international affairs prompter, clearer and more concrete. International commentaries should follow hot on the heels of events, so to say, and provide a summing-up. What we need is not a repetition of accepted truths but in-depth and well-argued analysis of facts relating to foreign affairs.

Soviet man is now more versed politically and more active than ever before. He rightfully demands a great deal from the mass media. It is the duty of workers on the ideological front to improve the quality and effectiveness of their work, to improve its forms and methods. The Politbureau has established a special commission to consider all these questions and to outline ways of improving ideological, mass political work. I think this will be useful.

Comrades, we are marching ahead in a broad front. Our country is transforming itself literally before our eyes. The scope of our accomplishments is enormous. But we also have many problems. We know what they are, we work constantly on them and we are sure to solve them.

Soviet society has invaluable political capital—the cohesion of the Party, the unity of the Party and the people. This enables me to express my firm confidence that new successes in accomplishing the tasks set by the 25th Party Congress, in the struggle to strengthen peace and international security, for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are awaiting us.

FROM THE AUTHOR *

Preparing to release my works on the problems of development of the world socialist system, Political Literature Publishers asked me to write a preface.

Acting upon this request I would like first to point out that the exceptionally fruitful and steadily expanding cooperation with fraternal socialist countries is of prime importance in the external relations of our Party and the Soviet state. Furthermore, the experience of our friends and allies has always been and continues to be of great interest to Soviet Communists, to the Soviet people.

In 1944-1945, I had the good fortune to be among those who carried out the Soviet Army's great mission of liberation and to see, with my own eyes, the great joy of the peoples of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia freed from the fascist yoke. But there was something in addition to the flowers and happy smiles we saw during that unforgettable time. There was not only exultation. Having gone through this time of terrible trial, people began thinking about how to prevent new tragedies, how to make a happy life. Subsequent years showed that the dawn of peace which had risen over war-ravaged Europe was for many countries the dawn of socialism.

Later I was to make several visits to socialist countries when I took part in the proceedings of congresses held by Communist and Workers' parties. Such visits were packed with meetings, both official and informal. Frankly speaking there has never been a single day of work when I have not been occupied with some question of our cooperation with fraternal countries and parties.

We must not forget that history left the Communists a harsh legacy. While in power, the exploiting classes, and Russian czarism did not lag behind in this respect, fomented dissension among peoples and deliberately cultivated prejudice and hostility between nations. The outstanding service of the Communists in the socialist community of nations is, of course, that the old relations of alienation, enmity and mistrust have long since yielded to friendship and

to fraternal cooperation between equal nations. This friendship has become a great constructive force.

Over these thirty-odd years the socialist countries have covered a great distance. They have seen many triumphs and victories but the road has had its bumps and potholes; mistakes have been made along the way. At the same time, life has proved indisputably that we chose the right road to reach the goals we set for ourselves. It has proved that the closer the cooperation between the socialist countries and the more vigorous their joint action in solving national and international problems, then the smoother and shorter the road.

Developing the world socialist system is an active, difficult and fascinating job now being done by tens and hundreds of millions of people who are building a new life and, I should add, new socialist international relations.

The enemies of communism are inclined to portray the socialist world as something drab and monotonous. But the realities, which have provided the material for the present book, testify to the richness and variety of forms and methods of socialist transformation of society.

Taken as a whole, the gains of the socialist community are—and this is my profound conviction—the most spectacular revolutionary achievement of our time. The common experience of the socialist system that has been built (and it should be clear that nobody is forcing socialism upon anyone) is an outstanding victory for the entire international working class. This experience helps all revolutionary forces working in their respective countries to find a reliable road to emancipation from the omnipotence of capitalism, and to the building of socialism.

Assessing the development of the socialist commonwealth, we have good grounds for repeating the words of our great teacher Lenin who said that the teaching of Marx is omnipotent because it is correct. Developed by Lenin and constantly enriched by the revolutionary thought of our day, the Marxist-Leninist teachings serve as a reliable guide to the transformation of society on the basis of human decency, reason and justice.

Some of the pages in this collection are about the past, many of them are about the present-day affairs of the socialist world, and there are also, as the reader will see, some thoughts about the future. We Communists see this future in the common movement of socialist countries towards the communist organisation of society which alone can create all the conditions necessary for the harmonious development of the personality and for the full satisfaction of man's needs.

I believe that the victory of communism in a group of countries does not mean that capitalism must cease to exist everywhere else in the world. This is not necessary. What this sort of victory needs,

* Published in the collection of speeches and articles *The World of Socialism Is the Triumph of Great Ideas*, Moscow, Politizdat Publishers, 1978 (in Russian).

in respect to external conditions, is the elimination of the threat of war and the switching of military expenditures to civic needs, what it needs is peace today, tomorrow, and always. Communism and peace are the beacon by which we, together with our friends and others who share our views, are building a road into tomorrow.

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE DINNER IN
HONOUR OF NUR MOHAMMED TARAKI,
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC
PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN, CHAIRMAN OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL AND PRIME
MINISTER OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF
AFGHANISTAN**

December 5, 1978

Dear Comrade Taraki,
Esteemed Afghan guests,
Comrades,

Sincerely and heartily I greet the distinguished guests from the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. We are glad to meet Comrade Taraki, outstanding leader of this friendly country, Comrade Amin and other prominent leaders that have come to our country as members of the delegation.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan are good and amicable neighbours. This has already become a tradition. The foundations of equal and friendly relations between us were laid sixty years ago by Lenin. Time has shown convincingly how well these relations meet the vital interests of both our countries.

Then came April, 1978. A genuine people's revolution marked an abrupt turning point in the age-old history of Afghanistan. There is nothing surprising that in these conditions the traditional good relations between our countries have assumed, I would say, a qualitatively new character.

Now it is not simply good-neighbourliness, but a profound, sincere and durable friendship, embodying a spirit of comradeship and revolutionary solidarity.

All these new features have found their reflection in the Treaty of Friendship, Good-Neighbourliness and Cooperation which we signed today. It can be said with confidence that the treaty is an outstanding political act. It will not only provide the foundation for

the further strengthening of Soviet-Afghan friendship, but will also serve the interests of peace and security in Asia, and, thereby, all over the world.

The Soviet people are following with great interest the first steps of the Afghan revolution, which has begun tackling its constructive tasks. We express to you our fraternal solidarity.

We wholeheartedly wish the People's Democratic Party, the Government and the people of Afghanistan successes in implementing the goals and tasks of the April revolution.

The foreign policy line, pursued by Afghanistan, the policy aimed at peace, non-alignment, development of equal and mutually advantageous relations with all countries, peaceful solution of outstanding issues is regarded with profound respect in the Soviet Union.

No doubt our Afghan friends are well aware of the great efforts the Soviet Union has made in the interests of consolidating international peace and security.

We believe that the main thing in present conditions is to prevent a new world war, which, if it broke out in any spot on the globe, would be a terrible calamity for all of mankind.

This is why the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community consistently advocate limiting and curtailing the arms race, embarking on disarmament.

We are for spending roubles and dollars, zlotys and marks, lei and francs on peaceful needs only. But the solution to this problem can be found only on a mutual basis.

It is precisely this stand of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries that is reflected in the recent decisions of the Moscow meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

There is no doubt that if the socialist nations were to embark upon the road of unilateral disarmament, if they were to allow the imperialists to achieve the superiority of forces they so eagerly desire, peace would be ill served.

I repeat: we are prepared to take the most radical steps towards disarmament. But the principle of equal security of sides must be observed at all the stages of the struggle to achieve this goal. We shall not agree to a weakening of our defences in the face of the growing military might of imperialism, no matter what demagogic arguments are used to camouflage such calls. This would bring about irreparable consequences for the cause of socialism, for the cause of the peoples' freedom and independence.

The Soviet Union stands for the deepening and expansion of international detente, for its extension also to the most populous continent of the planet-Asia. And we believe that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will also make its worthy contribution towards the achievement of these goals.

Dear Afghan friends,

Not only good personal, comradely contacts have been established between us as a result of our meetings and talks, but we have also worked out a common approach to key international problems, to questions of bilateral relations between our countries, parties and peoples on the basis of sincere and deep mutual understanding.

All this gives us reason to say that your visit, Comrade Taraki, will be an important landmark in the development of friendly relations and good-neighbourly cooperation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

I propose a toast:

To the further consolidation of friendship between our countries and peoples!

To the health of Comrade Taraki!

To the health of all our Afghan guests!

**SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE DINNER IN
CONNECTION WITH THE HOLDING IN
MOSCOW OF THE SIXTH MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN-SOVIET TRADE AND ECONOMIC
COUNCIL**

December 6, 1978

Esteemed American guests,
Comrades,

I welcome with all my heart the participants in the meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council as well as representatives of the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union.

As I look round this hall I see that our contacts have really acquired a systematic character. How many familiar faces! I am glad to see my old acquaintances: Mr. Harriman, Mr. Hammer, Mr. Kendall, Mr. Scott and many others.

I should especially like to welcome the new leading officials of the Council—Mr. Verity and Mr. Forrestal, whom I have already met, and wish them as well as the new Soviet co-chairman of the Council Comrade Sushkov every success in their important and responsible work.

I have just had a talk with the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States Mr. Blumenthal and the Secretary of Commerce Mrs. Krepes, who are present here. They said that President Carter supports the development of trade with the Soviet Union. This is also stated in the message from the President delivered by them. We, naturally, welcome this.

I have talked with a delegation from the US Senate recently. They also regarded the development of trade as an important element of relations between our two great states.

Representatives of US business circles have more than once told me that they are interested in broadening ties with the Soviet Union.

We, on our part, consistently come out for the development of economic relations with the USA along the clear and fair lines of

equality and mutual benefit. In this we see a reliable foundation, on the basis of which it will be easier to successfully build the complex edifice of Soviet-American relations as a whole, to strengthen mutual confidence and mutual understanding.

But trade too, as experience has shown, depends in a large measure on political climate.

Since our latest meeting here, in the Kremlin, in 1976, the Soviet Union has made highly impressive advances in its internal development—in industry, agriculture, space exploration, and in raising the living standards of the people. The volume of our foreign trade has also considerably grown. But trade between the USSR and the USA far from growing has even decreased—almost by a third, and continues to decrease.

One cannot help asking why this is so. Particularly considering the fact that our trade with the other Western countries is growing.

There is no secret about it. The main cause is the discriminatory legislation in the United States in regard to the Soviet Union.

Every country, of course, has its own trade legislation. But not many use it as some sort of a tap to regulate the stream of reciprocal trade depending on the mood or political situations that arise from time to time.

I must say that nobody has ever profited, or will ever profit, from such an approach towards the Soviet Union.

The attempts at pressure of this kind only introduce an element of instability in the trade and economic relations between our countries and call in question the reliability of the USA as a trade partner.

I know that the leadership of your Council has prepared proposals for the further development of Soviet-American trade over a five-year period. A number of preliminary projects for cooperation in various branches of industry have also been drafted. Most of them are said to have been approved by the US Government.

We want businessmen to negotiate projects which are promising from the point of view of the economic interests of the two countries. But, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, I must tell you straight out that it will be difficult to realise many of them unless discrimination in the USA against the Soviet Union in matters of trade and credits is eliminated.

Of course, we can trade with you under the present conditions as well. But in this case no substantial increase in trade could be expected.

The first outlines of our new five-year plan provide for cooperation with firms of industrialised Western countries on a number of big projects. We stand for the participation of American firms in these projects too—if they offer us acceptable commercial and other terms.

A substantial and steady growth of two-way trade can only be possible if the US discontinues its discriminatory practices. I think

that such a time will come and not the least part must be played in this by you, businessmen.

I wish you fresh success in developing and strengthening positive and useful business links between our two countries. Every step forward in this direction will also contribute to the general development of good relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

One sometimes hears people say that it is difficult to develop our relations because some people in America—either in the Administration, or in the Congress, or in the mass media—are unfavourably disposed to the Soviet Union. Strange logic indeed!

In the Soviet Union, too, far from all people like, say, certain practices in present-day America. But this does not prevent us from seeing the importance of normal and, which is better, good relations with the United States. I think that if we understand this as we should we will see that we need not necessarily admire each other. It is enough for everyone of us to be a patriot of his own country, to understand its real interests and to look after them. Indeed, it is a real fact that on normal relations and mutual understanding between the USSR and the USA depend, to no small extent, the peace, security and wellbeing of the peoples of our two countries as well as world peace, that is the lives of hundreds of millions of people on earth.

So let us always keep this in mind and act accordingly!

Let me propose a toast:

To the health and wellbeing of our American guests!

To peace, accord, equality and mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States of America!

To a lasting and just peace throughout the world!

SPEECHES IN THE KREMLIN AT THE SESSION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR

December 13, 1978

On the Ratification of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the SRV

Summing up the results of our discussion I want to emphasise first of all that we are considering a document of outstanding political significance. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has roots that are strong and deep, and it has absorbed the experience of cooperation that began at a cruel and grim period. The Soviet Union stood by Vietnam at the time of its ordeal, when it was waging a heroic struggle for its freedom. In that glorious struggle we were together. We are together again today.

Consequently, this treaty can by right be called a mirror of our present-day relations. These are the sincere and pure relations of class brothers, of brothers in the joint struggle for our Marxist-Leninist ideals. We have already established viable ties in politics, economics, ideology and other areas.

Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation is not based on material gain, although we do consider each other's economic interests. The main thing is that we are internationalists. And the successes of fraternal Vietnam, the successes of every socialist country can only bring joy to our hearts. Soviet people regard these successes as a common gain for peace and social progress.

Yet another feature characteristic of this treaty is that it looks to the future. It embodies the determination of the CPSU and the Communist Party of Vietnam, the determination of both our countries to extend cooperation from year to year and to strengthen Soviet-Vietnamese friendship so that it will endure forever.

The international significance of the treaty is considerable. Peace, a sense of security, freedom from any outside interference, and good-neighbourly relations are of particular importance to the countries of South-East Asia, to the Asian continent as a whole, and to all nations of the world. These are the goals the treaty will serve.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR submitted a proposal to ratify the Soviet-Vietnamese treaty. The foreign affairs commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR have recommended approval of this document, as have all the speakers before me today.

I propose that we endorse the decree on the ratification of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, signed on November 3, 1978.

On the Draft Decrees Concerning the Calling and Holding of Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the Tenth Convocation

Comrades, we are starting a major political campaign. It is necessary, right from the start, to put it on a businesslike footing, to focus our attention on the implementation of the tasks set at the 25th Congress of the Communist Party, and at the plenary meetings of its Central Committee.

The new Constitution has given another dimension to the activities of our executive bodies, including the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. And this, in turn, puts new and much greater demands on the men and women whom the Soviet people elect to the Soviets and whom they name as their deputies.

These demands are growing because today we have a huge national economy, and sophisticated systems of education, health and social security, and also because we must make fuller and more thrifty use of our national resources and must see our shortcomings better. That is why the voice of the deputy, the voice of the people must have the biggest say.

These demands are growing because the Party has now given top priority to the job of improving economic management at all levels. We are working for a situation in which personnel will work at full capacity and to the greatest effect, so as to guarantee the fulfilment of our plans and the continuing rise of the quality and efficiency of our industrial output. Supervision by the deputies, by the people, must be still more effective here too.

And finally, the demands made on the Soviets and on their deputies are growing because the implementation of all our plans calls for a higher degree of organisation, discipline and energy. But these qualities will not appear of their own accord. A campaign to educate

and unite the masses is needed on a daily basis. It is hard to overestimate in this important job the part played by the deputies' work and personal example.

The new electoral law provides for broad, free and business-like discussion of the personal qualities of every candidate, and for more time to be spent on such discussions. We are in favour of the provisions of this law being actively carried out. This would help select and nominate as candidates for deputies those whom we believe to be most worthy and authoritative.

I am sure that Party organisations and the public at large will do everything necessary to ensure that those nominated and elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR are the best representatives of the people, and that they are both the most experienced and the most active members of our society which is building a communist future.

**SPEECH AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE
ORDER OF LENIN AND THE THIRD GOLD
STAR MEDAL OF HERO OF THE SOVIET
UNION**

December 19, 1978

Dear comrades and friends,

It is with profound gratitude and emotion that I accept the decision of the governing bodies of our Party and state to present to me today, on my birthday, the Order of Lenin and the third Gold Star Medal of Hero of the Soviet Union. I am deeply moved by this high evaluation of my activity for the benefit of our Motherland, for the benefit of the Soviet people, and by the warm words which Mikhail Andreyevich has spoken here.

If one considers that quite recently I had occasion to mark in my calendar forty years of work in leading Party and government posts, one may say I have accumulated experience which enables me to draw general conclusions and evaluate the path traversed.

Recently, in a conversation with a foreign comrade, I said quite openly that there were two things which have always been and will ever be the closest to my heart, have always been and will remain the subject of my main concern. They are ensuring the provision of bread to the people and the security of the country.

In my lifetime, I have witnessed times, when the country was in the grip of general dislocation, when millions of people went through incredible sufferings from hunger and cold. Together with our glorious army, I also had to go through the ordeal of the Great Patriotic War, to see with my own eyes death and hell, the fire and destruction, which the aggressor brought to our peaceful socialist land.

Having gone through all of this, I swore that I should do everything in my power to see that such things would never be repeated, to see that there would be a complete victory of the Leninist policy of our Party, the policy aimed at ensuring a steady rise in the living standards of the people, at ensuring the country's peace and security, at building our happy communist future.

And so I am trying as hard as I can to fulfil this pledge in the high posts entrusted to me by the Party and the people.

Today I do not know any loftier aims.

Today I am doing and will continue to do my best so that the Soviet people can live in peace and increasingly better, so that the defence of the Soviet Union, whose prime aim is to prevent a new war, is reliable and invincible, so that the foreign policy of the Soviet state—a policy of peace and progress, a policy of cooperation of all states, a policy of friendship among peoples—achieves new successes.

This, comrades, is my answer to the award presented to me today. Again I thank you very much.

TO THE "PRAVDA" EDITOR

In connection with the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR conferring upon me the Order of Lenin and the third Gold Star Medal, I have received numerous telegrams and letters from Party and other public organisations, workers' and office employes' collectives, army units and individual citizens who warmly congratulated me and expressed their full support for the domestic and external policy of our Leninist Party and the Soviet state, pledging to back this policy by good performance at work in the future.

I have also received congratulations and messages of good will from the leaders of the fraternal socialist states and Communist Parties and from a number of organisations and individuals in other lands.

Unable to reply to each one of these congratulations separately, I am asking *Pravda* to express my wholehearted gratitude to all the senders and to assure them that I shall continue to work unstintingly for the prosperity of our great country, and for the security and wellbeing of the Soviet people who are building a communist society, and that I shall firmly defend the cause of lasting peace and peaceful equitable international cooperation, the cause of progress, freedom and independence for the peoples.

L. BREZHNEV

December 25, 1978

SPEECH IN THE KREMLIN AT THE PRESENTATION OF AWARDS TO A GROUP OF COMRADES

December 27, 1978

Esteemed comrades,

We are meeting on New Year's Eve, which itself adds to this occasion and makes it twice as festive. I would like to wholeheartedly congratulate you, men of different generations and different callings, on your decoration with the awards of the nation, and to wish you a happy New Year.

Our great Soviet loaf of bread contains a sizeable portion of the many years of labour of Nikolai Vasilyevich Tsitsin, a scientist of world renown. Today he is being awarded the Order of Lenin and the second Hammer and Sickle Gold Medal.

The Order of Lenin is being awarded to Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, candidate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU. An energetic and courageous man, he, as leader of the Georgian Party organisation, has won authority and respect both in the republic and in the rest of the Soviet Union.

The Order of Lenin has also been awarded to Nikolai Timofeyevich Glushkov. He worked effectively in the non-ferrous metals industry for many years, and has for a number of years been at the head of a very important economic body, the State Committee on Prices.

I am very happy to present the Order of the October Revolution to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He had earned this award working in one of the main grain producing areas of the country, the Stavropol Territory. I hope that at his new job as Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Mikhail Sergeyevich will put his initiative and capacity for selfless labour to good use.

For his work in the development of the public health service and medical science Aram Yakovlevich Abramyan has been awarded the Order of the October Revolution. He has treated people for more than half a century. It would even be difficult to count all the patients who owe their health to him.

Also among the recipients of state awards today is Anatoly Karpov. He needs no introduction, for he did a good job introducing himself and his country in a pitched battle for the chess crown. For his sporting exploits he has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour.

I have still another pleasant duty to perform and that is to present the insignia of General of the Army to Comrades Vadim Alexandrovich Matrosov and Semyon Kuzmich Tsvigun. I wholeheartedly congratulate you on the conferment of these high military ranks.

I wish all of you, dear comrades, good health, happiness and further success in your life and work.

ЛЕОНИД ИЛЬИЧ БРЕЖНЕВ
НАШ КУРС — МИР И СОЦИАЛИЗМ
на английском языке
Цена 55 коп.